

SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT V. V. GIRI



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Addresses to Parliament



*Arriving at the Central Hall of Parliament House in New Delhi
on February 19, 1973 to open Budget Session of Parliament.*



*Presenting the **Bharat Ratna** to the Prime Minister Shrinati Indira Gandhi in New Delhi on January 16, 1972.*

Inaugurating the two-day session of the Governor's Conference in New Delhi on December 1, 1972.



Our Onward March Continues

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ago this day, almost at this hour, the Constituent Assembly met in this Hall to herald India's freedom. That was an event which was unique in world history and which had no parallel in the political annals of any country, ancient or modern. A mighty Empire had bowed down to the indomitable will of an unarmed nation whose sole strength lay in the abiding faith of her people in the power of spirit and of peaceful persuasion. Truth and non-violence, the Father of our Nation had insisted, were strong and sufficient weapons for a backward, poor and unorganized people to win them their birthright of freedom, both political and economic. This firm foundation prepared us for a life of dedication and hard work so that India may rediscover her greatness and march towards her manifest destiny of a peaceful, prosperous and progressive existence in the comity of nations. We can claim, in all humility, that despite periods of extreme stress and strain, we have emerged today as a stable, well-knit and self-reliant nation.

When India got the right and the power to govern herself, we inherited an administration which had no direct relevance to the enormous task of bringing about a rapid transformation of an economically backward and industrially undeveloped country into a modern state. Independent India's Constitution laid great emphasis on the promotion of the welfare of the people by securing and protecting effectively a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life. In elections to our Legislatures, adult franchise was deliberately introduced so that the Governments formed would have the widest possible representative character. It also meant that the people's needs and the people's voice should be the dominant consideration in all affairs of State. Our parliamentary system provides the necessary means and machinery for a process of orderly change and a revolution by general consent.

Politically we have proved ourselves a mature nation. All external threats to our national integrity, and attempts at internal disruption, have been dealt with firmly by the united will of our people. Our strict adherence to the rule of law and the preservation of a judicial system capable of responding to the needs of a changing social order

Address on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Independence of India, Central Hall of Parliament, New Delhi, August 14/15, 1972.

are manifestations of good government. In the making of laws concerning the well-being of the people, we have rightly emphasized that considerations of the general welfare should prevail over the rights of individuals.

In a country as large as India with its social diversities and with a growing population, the problems of reconstruction are bound to be colossal and the needs whether in the spread of education, growing of sufficient food, provision of housing or other basic amenities to the people are continuous and ever increasing. But in meeting these needs our unshakeable aim is the building of an equitable society, and an economic system in which there will be no exploitation of man by man

We have yet a long way to traverse before we can make any claim to success. We have resources in land, water and minerals such as very few countries have. Even making allowance for the vagaries of the weather, the country is capable of achieving self-sufficiency in regard to the basic requirements of our people. An integrated service-oriented programme is an essential precondition for this. I have always advocated that planning for development, to be realistic, has to be started from the village level. I am glad that there is today an increasing realisation of the need for this. Plans and programmes are not intended to be mere assessment charts or arithmetical projections of national resources. Our commitment to the gigantic but inescapable task of the removal of poverty is a mandate from our people, and it has to be fulfilled in the quickest possible time and in the smoothest possible manner. The task must be tackled on a war-footing and this calls for collective effort and collective wisdom on the part of every group and every individual in the country.

The resources of the country, whether at the disposal of the States or at the disposal of the Union, are the common assets of the nation. Whether in the matter of sharing inter-State waters or power, or in the equitable distribution of essential commodities including food supplies, or in the distribution of cement and steel for construction activities, to cite only a few examples, the guiding principle should be that we do the maximum good to our people as a whole. The prosperity and progress of every part of India is the concern of the whole nation. Every Indian born in this country has a right and a claim to an equal share in that prosperity and progress. The State has a duty to take special care of the weaker sections of the community and the backward areas in different parts of the country. In helping to build them up, the approach should be not one of continuing patronage or conferment of special privilege but a positive programme by which

they will come up to the level of the rest of the community and will no longer be dependent upon any favoured treatment.

In industry, it is now well understood that to ensure better production, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the worker and the technician should receive not only their due share but also their due place in management and decision-making. The worker can no longer be looked upon as a mere wage earner but as a free citizen rendering his best for the reconstruction of the nation. I would urge upon my trade union comrades that it is they who hold the key in a large measure for India becoming self-sufficient in industrial goods of all kinds, and creating, in the process, wider employment opportunities.

The problem of unemployment has been a continuing sore in our body politic. The youth of the country is understandably impatient. The State and private enterprise have both a definite duty here. Putting all available land to agricultural activity and the organisation of a vast net-work of cottage and small scale industries will help in enabling a considerable section of the people to be self-employed. The basis for this programme has essentially to be co-operative community effort backed by State support and guided by specialized knowledge.

The attainment of India's freedom in 1947 was the beginning of the end of the colonial rule in different parts of the world. In my tours abroad I have been greatly touched by the amount of goodwill and the fund of affection shown towards our country. There is today a better appreciation and a closer understanding of our problems and our point of view in international affairs.

In our relations with countries and peoples we have steadfastly sought friendly association and mutual respect. We recognize that the problems of man wherever he may be situated are alike in all parts of the world and we believe in upholding human dignity and human freedom. It is in this spirit that we have striven, and shall continue to strive, to establish lasting peace between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan acting together as joint partners in the common endeavour to raise the standard of living of all the peoples in this sub-continent.

On this solemn occasion, I would like to pay my humble tribute and homage to all those who suffered or laid down their lives in the cause of our freedom movement and also those members of the armed forces who have made the supreme sacrifice so that India's honour and integrity may be protected and preserved.

India is on her onward march. A clear purpose and a sense of urgency must govern all our actions. Let us on this day rededicate ourselves to the service of the people of our great country.

Exacting Tasks Ahead

YOU HAVE ASSEMBLED to perform the exacting tasks which lie ahead of you. Not only have you to transact the formal legislative business but also to take stock of the problems that the nation faces and give guidance to the Government and the people.

Barely had the country overcome the extraordinary challenges of 1971, when we were confronted with fresh problems. The after-effects of the influx of refugees and the war were aggravated by drought in several parts of the country. Our hearts go out to all those who have been affected by drought and in certain other areas by cyclone and floods. Works on a large scale have been undertaken in all affected areas to provide employment and relief. Our buffer stock of foodgrains, along with the strengthening of the public distribution system, enabled the Government to meet the situation. In 1972, about 10.6 million tonnes of grains were distributed through the public system.

Inevitably, the drought led to a fall in food production, particularly in the areas of rain-fed cultivation, and this, in turn, influenced prices, which have registered a sharp increase since May last year. This has been a matter of grave concern to my Government. In addition to strengthening the public distribution system, as mentioned above, an emergency programme was launched to increase *rabi* and summer foodgrains production to offset the loss of *kharif* output. We expect a good *rabi* crop this year. None the less, we must husband all available food resources and avoid waste.

Prices of food articles can be brought under check and the interests of the common people safeguarded by taking over the surplus of wheat and rice, by eliminating wholesale traders and by organising distribution of foodgrains, especially to scarcity areas and the vulnerable sections of the population. The wholesale trade in wheat will be taken over from the coming wheat marketing season. This will be followed by the take-over of wholesale trade in rice. The success of this programme calls for the whole-hearted co-operation of surplus as well as deficit States.

The emphasis on credit policy continues to be one of restraint, consistent with the need to maximise production, meet priorities and attend to hitherto neglected sectors. The Government's programme of market borrowings during the year was designed to absorb the surplus liquidity of the commercial banking system.

The relatively sluggish rate of growth of industrial production in 1970 and 1971 gave place to an upward trend in 1972. Industrial production increased by over 7% during the year. It would have been still higher but for the shortage of power in most parts of the country. Government is taking short-term and long-term measures to improve the generation, transmission and distribution of power.

Government has recently clarified its Industrial Licensing Policy of curbing monopolies and the concentration of economic power, consistent with the objectives and the priorities of production during the Fifth Five Year Plan. Several measures which should stimulate investment on a wide front have been announced. The larger number of applications and approvals for licences, capital goods, finance from industrial financing institutions, registration of companies and capital issues—all indicate a gathering tempo of industrial activity. Government is also laying emphasis on the active implementation of industrial licences already granted and is devising practical measures to increase the pace of implementation.

Government has devoted attention to the problems of textile and engineering units which have been lying closed or are facing serious difficulties due to mismanagement and failure to re-invest surpluses and to modernise the plants. The management of a number of these units has been taken over this year in order to revive production and ensure continuous employment. With the restoration of law and order in West Bengal, industrial recovery is gaining momentum under a 16-point programme.

In our steady march towards socialism, an increasingly wide segment of economic activity has been brought under public ownership and management. This covers a major part of transport and communications, power, coal, steel, heavy engineering, banking, insurance and important segments of external and internal trade. As a result of the vigorous steps taken by Government, a definite improvement was discernible in most public sector units last year. Ultimately, production and the quality of service to the people in all these fields depend on the dedication and sense of involvement of managers and workers. In the changed context, both managers and workers have to give up the traditional concept of their roles. Management has to develop new attitudes and look upon workmen as participants in the service of the people. Workers should not allow trade union rivalry to prevent them from fulfilling their historic role of being in the vanguard of socialist transformation by making our public enterprises successful and models of service to the people. On its part, Government recognises the central role of the worker in the economic process and will do everything in its power to ensure that his legitimate rights

are protected. I appeal to workers, particularly in vital industries and sectors, to place the country first and keep in mind the conditions of the vast multitude of the low-paid and the unemployed.

Government will continue its effort to bring about a consensus among trade unions on the critical problems of uninterrupted production, increase in productivity, wages and participation in management.

Government has been considering methods of improving the performance of public sector undertakings. Some of these need to be restructured as holding companies so as to combine entrepreneurial vigour with effective public accountability. The Steel Authority of India Ltd. has been set up to reorganise the steel industry on these new lines. Further improvements in management practices and general administrative procedures are under examination.

The Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan has been approved by the National Development Council. The Approach indicates the effort necessary to attain the twin objectives of self-reliance and the removal of poverty within a reasonable period. A number of programmes proposed to be taken up in the Fifth Plan—the National Programme of Minimum Needs, the Employment Programme, the accent on the development of backward classes and backward regions and the reorientation of the pattern of production with emphasis on goods of mass consumption—are designed directly to attack the problem of poverty. The Approach is based on Government's considered view that growth and social justice are interlinked. Social justice needs growth to be meaningful and growth needs social justice to be sustained and durable. The quality and content of growth are more important than growth by itself.

The new directions given to the Fifth Plan and the magnitude of its targets call for major efforts on the part of all sections of our people. We have to sustain and transfer the unity, morale and confidence which we demonstrated in meeting external danger to the fields of economic and social transformation of the country. I have no doubt that the people will respond to this challenge. It will be the privilege of this fifth Parliament of our Republic to give shape to the Fifth Five Year Plan and make it the turning point in our advance towards economic independence.

A number of programmes intended for the benefit of rural masses have been in operation for the last two to three years—the Small and Marginal Farmers' Programme, the programme for Rural Employment, Drought Prone Areas Programme, provision of house sites to landless labour in rural areas and the Nutrition Programme. A special programme to provide employment opportunities for 5 hundred thousand educated persons in the coming year has been formulated.

These schemes for the provision of house sites to landless labour, creation of rural employment as also provision of water supply and electricity to rural areas will be further accelerated. The implementation of land reforms will be expedited.

Simultaneously, a programme of advance action for the Fifth Plan has been prepared. It is proposed to increase the production of pulses, oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton, and to accelerate irrigation projects, improve the working of power stations and hasten the commissioning of those which are nearing completion. The production of steel and fertilisers is also being increased.

Realising the significance of education, both for social transformation and economic growth, Government has decided to take steps, in concert with State Governments, for programmes of educational reconstruction and development in the Fifth Five Year Plan.

A Science and Technology plan, which will form an integral part of the economic plan, is being prepared. This will help us to harness science and technology in a more purposive way for self-reliance and economic growth. At the same time, we must take measures to preserve the quality of the natural environment.

A new Department of Space and a Space Commission have been constituted to utilise fully the benefits that can accrue to the country as a result of the peaceful uses of outer space.

Government has been deeply concerned at the recent developments in Andhra Pradesh. The problem in that State has a long history. We view with grave anxiety the resort to violence in an attempt to settle this problem. Such violence is opposed to the basic values we cherish; it has resulted in the loss of valuable lives and extensive damage to public property. I express my sympathy and sorrow for those who have suffered. There is no problem for which a reasonable solution cannot be found through calm and rational discussion. Government's sole consideration is to safeguard the interests of all sections of our people. I appeal to the people of Andhra Pradesh to co-operate fully with the Government in finding a peaceful solution.

I now turn to relations with neighbours, near and far. We have desired the establishment of mutually beneficial and friendly relations with Pakistan. We signed the Simla Agreement as the first step towards the establishment of durable peace. The Agreement lays emphasis on bilateralism for the solution of differences by peaceful means and excludes outside agencies and third party involvement. I am glad that India and Pakistan have been able, through bilateral negotiations, to determine a line of control in Jammu and Kashmir which is to be respected by both sides. Similarly, both sides have withdrawn their troops to the international border; in the process,

India has vacated about 12,800 Sq. kilometres of Pakistan's territory. This by itself is concrete evidence of India's friendly intentions towards Pakistan.

The prisoners of war of the western front have been exchanged. It is hoped that Pakistan will create the necessary conditions which would enable the three parties to the conflict in the Eastern theatre to hold discussions for the repatriation of the prisoners of war who surrendered to the joint command of India and Bangladesh Forces. The Simla Agreement holds promise not only of improving and normalising relations between India and Pakistan but also of establishing durable peace in the sub-continent as a whole. This will enable the countries of the sub-continent to devote their energies and limited resources to the urgent task of furthering the economic and social well-being of their peoples.

Our friendship with Bangladesh has taken concrete shape in the historic Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace and in agreements on various matters of mutual interest. Bangladesh has made remarkable recovery from the ravages of the liberation struggle. Within a year, Bangladesh has adopted a Constitution and is about to hold her first General Elections. Seldom has a nation which has been through so harrowing an ordeal progressed so rapidly on the road to political stability and economic recovery. We hope that Bangladesh, which has been recognised by 95 countries, will take her rightful place in the United Nations. We share Bangladesh's concern for her nationals who are detained in Pakistan and hope that they will soon be released.

Our friendly relations and close co-operation with Nepal continued to grow during the year. In April-May 1972, we had the pleasure of receiving the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Right Honourable Shri Kirti Nidhi Bista, as our guest. Our Prime Minister paid a visit to Nepal earlier this month and a useful exchange of views took place during the visit. These visits have helped to further strengthen the already close, friendly and mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

In the death of His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, Bhutan lost a great statesman and India a dear friend. The news of his demise in Nairobi was received in India with a deep sense of shock and sorrow. We extend our co-operation to the new King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk and are confident that during his rule the existing ties of close friendship between Bhutan and India will be further strengthened.

We are happy that the long-delayed peace agreement in Vietnam has been concluded and that the terrible war that raged for a whole

generation, causing great suffering and hardship to the people, has ended. We hope that the ceasefire will lead to a durable peace which will enable the people of Vietnam to address themselves to the tasks of reconstruction. We hope also that peace and order will come to the neighbouring States of Laos and Cambodia.

We have strengthened our ties of friendship, mutual understanding and co-operation with all countries. It is gratifying that with many of them our trade has also registered an increase. We value our close ties with the Soviet Union and will continue to strengthen them.

It is our earnest desire to improve understanding and co-operation with the United States of America.

The emergence of a new Western Europe, following the entry of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland into the enlarged European Economic Community is a major development. It is our hope that this bigger European Community will look outward rather than inward and pursue a helpful approach to the problems of the developing countries.

We welcome the positive trends in the international situation which have created an atmosphere of *detente*. My Government would like to normalise relations with China. We view the moves towards reconciliation between the United States of America and China, Japan and China, and between North and South Korea as positive steps in favour of the relaxation of tensions. In Europe, the acceptance by the Federal Republic of Germany and German Democratic Republic, in particular, and other European States in general.

We shared with the Zambian people their shock and anger when Rhodesia closed its border with Zambia and stopped the transit over Rhodesian soil of all Zambia's imports and exports. We have offered to help the Zambian Government with such assistance as we can give. We regret that because of the situation created by the Rhodesian action, the Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, could not pay his State visit to India last month.

The expulsion of Asians from Uganda has been a matter of serious concern to the Government as it has led to the uprooting of several thousands of people of Indian origin who had made Uganda their home and had contributed to its development. During my visits to Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia, I found how these actions had embarrassed enlightened opinion in African countries which are striving for rapid economic development and racial equality and tolerance. We continue to make common cause with the people of Africa who are fighting against colonialism, injustice and oppression. I am happy that our technical and economic co-operation with African countries is rapidly increasing.

We regret that there has been no progress towards a solution of the problem created by Israel's occupation of Arab territories. Our stand on this critical issue is based on principles which we have again supported in the last resolution in the United Nations calling on Israel to vacate these territories.

Honourable Members, the correctness of our internal and external policies and the basic vitality of our economy, our institutions and our people have been proved time and again whenever the country has had to face grave situations. I am sure that our present difficulties are temporary and that we shall overcome them and emerge more united and disciplined. We shall have to work with clarity of vision and unity of purpose to meet these challenges.

During your present Session, you will be dealing with the Demands for Grants for the next financial year as well as with legislative business. Government will bring before Parliament a Bill to replace the Coal Mines (Taking over of Management) Ordinance, 1973. Government also intends to bring before Parliament a Comprehensive Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill. In addition, legislation to regulate foreign contributions and to establish a Newspaper Finance Corporation for rendering financial assistance to small and medium newspapers as well as Bills to amend the Election Law, the Cinematograph Act and the Delhi Development Act will be among the measures that will be brought before Parliament.

Honourable Members, I summon you to your new endeavours and wish you well.

Welcome Developments in Various Spheres

YOU REASSEMBLE AT a time of difficulty and trial. The people face many hardships as a result of high prices, scarcity of essential commodities and interruptions in production and supply caused by strikes, *bundhs* and unrest, which in some parts of the country have taken a violent turn. The international oil crisis has cast an uneasy shadow on the economy. These unforeseen events have undoubtedly slowed down the pace of our social and economic development. In this

situation, the people's mood is one of understandable anxiety. I have deep sympathy with ~~the~~ people, particularly the poor sections, who have had to suffer.

Seldom has a country faced such gigantic problems in quick succession, year after year, as we have these last three years. It has been a continuous testing of the nation's mettle. The nation has survived these difficulties and has not allowed them to come in the way of its basic endeavours towards development. This is no mean achievement and should not be ignored, even though positive aspects are apt to be overlooked in difficult times.

There have been a number of welcome developments. One of these is the manner in which the people of Andhra Pradesh have solved the problem of intra-regional tensions which only a year ago appeared insurmountable. I congratulate all sections of the people of that State on the wisdom and spirit of accommodation which they displayed. The six-point formula which has been evolved should lead to fuller integration and to the accelerated development of the backward areas of the State.

Two other hopeful trends are in the economic sphere : the rise in export earnings and the improvement in the performance of public undertakings. Until about two years ago, the low rate of growth of our exports was a cause for considerable anxiety. However, since 1972-73, there has been a marked improvement. In that year, our exports increased by 22%. In the first eight months of 1973-74, despite a variety of constraints, exports have increased by 20.8%. We are confident that with a greater national effort, exports can be pushed up substantially.

Only about two years ago, the continuing losses of our public enterprises were a cause for concern. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that consequent to a number of measures taken by Government, our Central public undertakings, taken together, have increased their production and earned a net profit for the first time in 1972-73. This year the position is expected to be much better. The utilisation of capacity will generally increase, the profits of some units are expected to be higher and in others the losses will be considerably reduced.

The rise in prices and the scarcity of food articles, particularly in deficit States, is of prime concern to the people and the Government. The expectation that the good *kharif* harvest of 1973 would help to stabilise prices has not materialised. Partly, this is due to the internal inflationary situation. The provision of work and relief on a hitherto unprecedented scale to the people of drought affected areas, without jettisoning investment on Plan programmes and the requirements of defence, has necessitated increased deficit financing. The situation

also reflects the effect of the international economic crisis on our country. The steps towards *detente* between nations in different parts of the globe had raised hopes of a favourable climate for the speedy progress of developing nations. However, the international economic situation has created new and complex problems. The international monetary crisis, followed by the steep rise in the prices of many commodities, has affected poorer countries like India more than others. The prices of almost all commodities that we have to import have gone up by two to four times in the past few months, while the prices of our own exports have risen if at all, only marginally.

The serious situation created by these developments has been aggravated by hoarding and speculation by unscrupulous traders and by interruptions in production and movement caused by lapses on the part of management and by some misguided sections of organised classes. Stocks are also being hoarded by producers and affluent consumers. All these sections of our people must realise that they cannot survive unless the nation as a whole survives. Resort to violence and *bundhs* only worsens the situation. The poor suffer the most. Government will deal firmly with hoarding and with attempts to interrupt production, movement and distribution.

Supplies to deficit areas and vulnerable sections of society can be maintained through the public distribution system only if there is adequate procurement of grains. Appreciating the need to compensate the farmer for the rise in the cost of production, Government increased procurement prices substantially for the current *kharif* cereals. While the procurement of rice is satisfactory in many States, it is unfortunate that the procurement of coarse grains did not gather momentum. The *kharif* procurement season has still several months to go. The situation has been studied in detail, State by State, and Government has indicated the steps to be taken by State Governments. This year's experience in procurement and distribution will be fully considered in taking corrective action for the coming *rabi* season. I wish to impress upon the State Governments, with all the earnestness at my command, the importance of achieving procurement targets. It has to be realised that the Central Government can distribute only as much quantity as the State Governments procure and make available to it. Therefore, all State Governments, whether they be of surplus or deficit States (which also have surplus areas), should give over-riding importance to this matter and to the checking of hoarding and smuggling.

Judged by world standards we consume very little oil. Yet the increased prices of crude oil alone will cast on us an additional burden of rupees eight billion a year in foreign exchange. This poses an unprecedented challenge to our economy.

We can understand the anxiety of oil producing countries to conserve their depleting reserves of crude. We also appreciate their desire to strengthen and diversify their economies through investments financed by larger revenues from their exports of oil. We extend our support fully to them in their efforts to secure a dominant role in the international trade in oil which has hitherto been controlled by a handful of private oil companies. We have cordial relations with oil-exporting countries. The adverse impact of the rise in oil prices on the economies of developing countries like India is recognised by the friendly countries in Western Asia. We have to devise ways and means of ensuring that this genuine concern is adequately reflected in concrete measures. We are in close touch with oil producing countries and hope that we can find just solutions through appropriate mutual arrangements.

We have satisfactory reserves of coal and sizeable potential of hydro-electric power. We possess the technology for nuclear power generation. We are hopeful that our efforts at oil exploration will yield results. Given a little time and the necessary resources, we should be able to develop these to meet our needs. But the intervening years will be difficult and will call for the most disciplined effort on our part and understanding from our friends.

Government is organising a massive effort to develop our indigenous sources of energy and to maximise our earnings from exports. Efficient and increased production of our own sources of energy and of export-oriented industries, utmost economy in the use of oil products and selective restraints on domestic consumption of exportable goods are essential for the success of this effort. I appeal to all sections of the people to co-operate fully with the measures that will be taken by Government.

The search for oil, on-shore and off-shore, will be pursued with vigour. The exploration which has begun in one off-shore area will be intensified. We have already a joint venture for production of crude oil in Iran. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission has started exploration in a prospective area in Iraq and similar ventures elsewhere are under consideration.

Schemes for the generation of power will be given high priority. Special attention is being paid to improving the working of existing units and the earlier commissioning of projects which are in an advanced state of construction. This will add a sizable quantum of power. In addition, a large number of projects are to be taken up and completed during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. The necessary approvals for these projects have been given and in the case of thermal plants, the coal fields from which coal will be supplied has been

identified and linked up for particular projects. A co-ordinated development of coal fields, transportation and power plants will be ensured. This massive programme calls for the reorganisation of the electricity industry.

The key to the success of our efforts in insulating our projected targets of economic growth from the rise in prices of oil lies in larger production and transport of coal. Department of Mines and the Railways have to gear themselves to the task of raising and moving the coal to various centres of consumption. The State Governments on their part should ensure that necessary basic facilities like power and feeder roads are made available. A great responsibility rests on the managements and the one and a half million workers of the mines and the Railways. With their co-operation, the production of coal will be increased in 1974-75 to 90 million tonnes, if not more, and a steady flow will be maintained to keep the wheels of industry running smoothly.

In the present situation, the maintenance of production, particularly in essential sectors, is an obligation we owe to our people. In recent months, the workers have been experiencing considerable economic difficulties. In spite of this, our workers, who have a proud heritage of patriotism, know very well that the situation can be improved only if the social tasks of production are viewed in the larger national perspective. Therefore, workers have to make a supreme effort to increase production and to ensure quick and uninterrupted movement. This is the only way in which they can contribute to relieve the shortages faced by the common people.

The Draft Fifth Five Year Plan provides the framework and the programme to tackle the twin problems of food and fuel. The strategy for agriculture is based on a combination of the application of new technology and widening the base of production. The emphasis is on programmes for command areas and marginal areas on the one hand and for the small farmers on the other, so that the very process of increased production ensures wider distribution regionwise as well as between different sections of the people. The Plan gives special importance to the development of power, coal, oil and transport and of industries like fertilizers which are vital for agriculture. In a number of sectors, a large part of the output levels envisaged in the Plan is based on the assumption of full and more efficient utilisation of existing capacities. This is as much a part of the Plan as new investment.

For the first time integrated sub-plans are being prepared within the overall framework of State Plans for the development of backward areas, including hill and tribal areas, so that all sections of the people

achieve certain minimum levels of social consumption in elementary education, rural health, drinking water, provision of home sites, slum clearance, rural roads and rural electrification. The endeavour will be to integrate the services under health, family planning, nutrition, education and social welfare at the field level.

It is a measure of the maturity of our democracy that notwithstanding the present economic difficulties, a fifth of our population is exercising franchise this month in elections to State assemblies. I appeal to all political parties to ensure peaceful conduct of the elections. We are proud of our record in this regard, as free and peaceful elections constitute an important feature of a stable democracy. Successful democracy consists not only of the freedom to choose but of a realisation that in spite of differences, the parties in power and in opposition abide by certain basic rules of conduct, the more important of which is the avoidance of all forms of violence and extra-constitutional methods.

Early this month, Gujarat has come under President's rule. It is the responsibility of all citizens to help in the establishment of a climate of self-restraint and co-operative effort so that the people's hardships can be alleviated.

In the year under review, our foreign policy was pursued with vigour and registered some notable successes. Relations with our neighbours, particularly Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka, as also Burma and Afghanistan, saw noticeable improvement in building up a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation.

The human problem of the persons stranded in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India after the conflict of 1971 is on the way to satisfactory resolution following the historic initiative taken by India and Bangladesh. The three-way simultaneous repatriation began in September last and is expected to be completed before the middle of this year. My Government is prepared to enter into negotiations with Pakistan to implement the rest of the Simla Agreement. We sincerely hope that the Government of Pakistan also desires this.

We have maintained a constant dialogue with Bangladesh on all issues of mutual interest. The Governments of both the countries have made concerted efforts to further strengthen friendly relations and co-operation in commercial and economic fields.

I am happy to say that the exchange of visits by our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has resulted in the activation of economic relations and co-operation between the two countries. The question of the status of all persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka

has been finally resolved and considerable progress has been made in finding a solution to other questions.

The visit of our Prime Minister to Nepal and of the King and Queen of Nepal to India symbolised the close relations between us, which are based on mutual trust and commonality of interests. We admire greatly the resolve of the Government of Nepal to advance the economic and social interest of its people, a task in which we have been privileged to participate according to the wishes of the Government of Nepal.

Our friendly relations with Afghanistan are being developed and strengthened further by mutual co-operation in many fields. Several projects in which we will be able to participate under our technical and economic co-operation programme have been identified in Afghanistan.

During my visit to Malaysia in March 1973, I had expressed our support to the Declaration of November 1971 by Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore that South-east Asia should be a zone of peace and neutrality. Along with other countries of the region, we have always urged that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace and should be free from military bases of big powers. This has been emphasised by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the non-aligned countries who met at Algiers last year. It is, therefore, a matter of deep concern and disappointment to us that the United Kingdom and the United States of America have entered into an agreement for the establishment of a military base in the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. We consider that the establishment of the military base is against the interests of peace and we sincerely hope that the wishes of the people of this region and of the United Nations will prevail in this matter.

We attach the greatest importance to our friendly relations with countries of West Asia. We are pursuing these in the emerging context of greater economic exchanges between developing countries. We have concluded agreements with the Republic of Iraq covering many fields of such co-operation. The growing friendship between India and Iraq is reflected in the positive response of Iraq in finding a solution to the problems arising from the rise in oil prices.

Our view that no stable peace can be established in West Asia without the vacation of Israeli aggression from all occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine is well-known. There have recently been some positive developments and we hope that the West Asia Peace Conference will lead to lasting peace and stability in this region.

As a result of the high-level visits recently exchanged between Iran and us, there has been a better understanding of each other's

policies and many new avenues of mutually beneficial co-operation have been identified. Government will pursue these vigorously.

Yet another milestone was reached in our relations with the Soviet Union with the exchange of views and the Agreements that were signed when we had the pleasure of playing host to General Secretary Brezhnev in November 1973. The Agreements put the economic relationship between the two countries on a long-term footing. We are gratified that Indo-Soviet friendship has progressively attained newer levels of maturity and co-operation.

In June 1973 our Prime Minister visited Yugoslavia. I paid a visit to Rumania and Czechoslovakia in October 1973. Later in the year, we welcomed General Secretary Dr. Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia and an agreement on economic co-operation was signed with Czechoslovakia. President Tito's visit last month gave yet another opportunity for a detailed exchange of views on recent developments affecting non-aligned countries.

There has been a conscious effort on the part of my Government and that of the United States of America to strengthen relations on the basis of equality and mutuality of interests. An important result of this is the agreement on the question of U.S. rupee funds in India.

The conclusion of the Commercial Co-operation Agreement with the European Economic Community is a significant step and with this, our relations with the enlarged Community have started well. We are confident that trade and economic co-operation between the Community and India will grow fast in the coming years.

The views exchanged during the visits of the Prime Ministers of two sister countries of the Commonwealth—Australia and New Zealand—indicated the enlightened stand of these leaders on world issues, their commitment to peace and their increasing interest in the development of India and other countries of Asia. The visit of our Prime Minister to Canada in June 1973 helped to further strengthen the close ties between the two countries.

Our relations with African countries are close and co-operative. The Vice-President visited Tanzania recently and participated in the tenth anniversary of the Revolution in Zanzibar. In line with our well-known support for the struggle of the African peoples against colonialism and racism, we hail the emergence of the new State of Guinea-Bissau.

Close co-operation with other non-aligned countries has been one of the important aspects of our foreign policy. The Prime Minister attended the Fourth Summit of non-aligned countries in Algiers in September, 1973. The Conference demonstrated a large measure of

agreement in the political field and also the resolve of member countries to co-operate with one another more concretely.

Hon'ble Members, the basis and nature of relationships between the countries of the world are changing rapidly; so also many concepts which held sway during the last two decades. Amidst all this, it is a matter for satisfaction that the basic tenets of our foreign policy since Independence have been consistently vindicated.

During this session you will consider the demands for grants for the next financial year and the pending and new legislative business. Government will bring before Parliament a Bill to amend the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act to enable more vigorous enforcement. Among other measures are the Bills for establishing Central universities at Pondicherry and Hyderabad, a Bill to further amend the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution and a Bill to amend the Agricultural Refinance Corporation Act to enable it to extend assistance directly to Area Development Corporations.

Hon'ble Members, I summon you to the exacting tasks of 1974. The formidable challenges that the nation faces can be turned into an opportunity by a determined people. I have no doubt that as the representatives of the people, you will give the right lead in a spirit of dedication and constructive co-operation and that the country will overcome the present difficulties and emerge stronger and more united to advance along the chosen path.

Messages to the Nation

Introspection and Retrospection

ON THE EVE of the 22nd anniversary of the Republic Day, I am indeed, happy to greet you, my fellow-citizens at home and abroad, and convey to you my best wishes for the future.

The Republic Day this year is of special significance and marks an important milestone in the history of our nation. Thanks to the unity and determination of our people and the valour and bravery of our armed forces, we have emerged from the recent conflict with renewed hope and confidence in our national destiny. A ruthless military dictatorship in Pakistan forced us into a conflict which we did every thing in our power to prevent. This conflict was one between ideas and systems, between a people and their oppressors, and not between two countries. We have no quarrel with the people of Pakistan. We fought to uphold certain basic and fundamental values. The freedom and liberty of a people cannot be made the pawns of political power and the spirit of man cannot be crushed by armed might. The emergence of the sovereign State of Bangladesh wedded to the principles of democracy, socialism and secularism has demonstrated these truths more vividly than any other event in recorded history, and we welcome this development not only as vindicating our policies but as a guarantee of peace and progress among all the people of the sub-continent.

I would appeal to those now in authority in Pakistan to give up the attitude of ill-will towards us. Let us all awaken from the nightmare of the past. Let us, the people of India, the people of Bangladesh and the people of Pakistan, together look forward to the establishment of friendly, co-operative relations for the common advantage of all our peoples and for the furtherance of peace and human freedom all over the world.

Since we attained independence twenty-five years ago, we have unceasingly supported in international forums the just struggle of people everywhere for the attainment of basic human rights and human liberties, and for freedom to live in peace and without fear of exploitation. The days of colonialism are gone and no amount of money, power or military might, can hold a people under tyranny or subjection. The United Nations will serve its purpose only if it ceases to be an arena for partisan propaganda or power manipulation

Broadcast to the Nation, on the eve of Republic Day, New Delhi, January 25, 1972

and channelises its energies and its resources for a durable peace and for universal welfare.

The recent conflict also proved beyond doubt the strength and vitality of our parliamentary system of Government. Under the able and enlightened leadership, which our country has been fortunate to have, this system has the essential strength to withstand pressures, strains and stresses of whatever nature and in whatever form. For its policies and actions, the Government derives its sanction from the people and thus ensures the essential unity of the nation as a living and growing entity.

The people of India, today, are wide awake and on the alert. In the face of the national crisis, we have forged together a unity of purpose and action. The task of reconstruction of our economy is the biggest challenge we are facing now. And in meeting this we have to evolve methods and means which rely primarily on our own resources—human, intellectual, moral and material. The Governments at the centre and in the States are the joint trustees for the welfare and progress of all our people. There is no room and no justification for friction among States or as between the States and the Union. The paramount consideration should be the unity and integrity of the country and the common good of all our people. There can be no compromise on this vital issue. Let our emotions and energies be devoted entirely to constructive activity.

I would remind employers and the workers of my recent appeal to declare a moratorium on strikes and lockouts for a period of three years. I am sure my appeal will find a ready response both from the workers and the employers and there will be a greater realisation that differences and disputes should be resolved through direct negotiations and conciliation rather than by resort to direct action. While I believe that the right to strike is inalienable, it should not be used at a time like this. I am quite confident that both labour and management will rise to the occasion and increase production and productivity and thus help the nation in achieving the aim of self-sufficiency. I have full faith in my working class comrades that in this hour of destiny they will not fail the nation. I am quite sure the employers will consider the workers as partners in the industrial system.

We have yet a long way to go in removing economic inequalities and social disparities. We must import a sense of purposeful urgency in dealing with this problem. This is also closely linked up with the question of regional imbalances and regional disparities which can be corrected only if we strike at the root cause of our economic and social ills. Starting from the base, our aim should be to build a prosperous and contented rural community. Pilot projects for

maximum utilisation of all available land for agriculture and organisation of agro-industries and other cottage industries, on a co-operative basis, should be encouraged. In the implementation of the Five-Year Plans we have to impart a greater sense of realism and change the emphasis from programmes to performance. We have to bring about a scientific transformation of our economy. I have immense faith in the ability of our young scientists and technologists to meet the challenges before them. We have to ensure that modern technology is adapted to suit our conditions and thus help in increasing the well-being of the largest number of our people.

To the youth of the country, more especially to students, I would appeal to observe rules to discipline their conduct. The building of a new India requires the services of disciplined, well-trained and patriotic people and the participation of all sections. There cannot be a privileged class and an under-privileged class in the harmonious evolution of a society.

I would also like to stress that our administration should address itself to the tasks before us with patriotism, dedication and promptitude. The administrative machinery must be made responsive to the needs and aspirations of our people. Rules of procedure framed in an earlier colonial era can no longer be valid. We must seek to promote talent, idealism and vision. It is only through creativity and innovation in every field of national endeavour that we can usher in an era of social and economic change which our people demand. Let us all work together and work hard towards the achievements of our objective through disciplined conduct under democratic norms.

When I spoke to you last year on this occasion, the country was due to elect a new Lok Sabha. This time, most of the States are due to elect representatives to their Legislative Assemblies. I would like to express my sincere hope that the elections will take place peacefully and without rancour.

No country, far or near, need have any apprehensions about India's progress and strength. A strong, stable, prosperous India will benefit not only all the people of India but add to the strength, stability and prosperity of this whole region.

Republic Day is, indeed, an occasion for great rejoicing, but it is also a time for calm introspection and retrospection. Let us on this sacred day renew our pledge to serve our motherland with greater dedication and determination. India today has a firm foundation for progress. Let us all, together, build on this a society in which our people can live a fuller and more abundant life.

Indian First Indian Last

TOMORROW THE NATION celebrates its twenty-fourth Republic Day, and I offer my warm greetings and sincere good wishes to my fellow citizens and comrades throughout the country and abroad on the occasion.

Each Republic Day brings back to us the memories of our struggle for upholding our right to liberty and freedom. We have cherished this as the most valued right so that we as a nation may progress according to the genius of our own people and according to our own needs. Ours has been the path of peaceful evolution, and the foundations for free India are rooted in our unshakeable adherence to the unity and integrity of the country. To preserve that unity and integrity unsullied and unhampered, we have deliberately eschewed all forms of communalism, casteism and parochialism in our national life. As a people, we are a single entity, to whichever part of the country we may belong. Living proudly under the tri-colour flag, which represents the glory of Mother India, we are all Indians first, Indians last and Indians always.

The developments in Andhra Pradesh have caused me the deepest concern. It was inevitable perhaps that the Mulki issue gave rise to certain genuine misgivings in the minds of the people of Andhra. But we are a responsible democracy, and the only effective way of advocating a cause is through the democratic process. Violence and destruction of public property, whether in Andhra, or in Assam, or in any part of the country, solve nothing. On the other hand, they ill-serve the cause by rousing bitterness and acting as a stumbling block in realising the objective. I have again and again condemned such activities as being inimical to national interest.

Life in Andhra Pradesh must come back to normalcy and a calm atmosphere restored in the quickest possible time. The problems that have arisen in Andhra Pradesh involving the future of that State would require the most careful consideration in all its aspects. In discussing them it is necessary that there should be a full, free and frank exchange of all points of view without any pre-conditions or reservations. In our system of government, there is no question of any decision being arrived at through compulsion or coercion or under threat of force. It is only when all points of view are heard and differences ironed out dispassionately that we can arrive at satisfactory and lasting solutions to any problem. As an old trade unionist and

negotiator of experience, I have consistently held that nothing is the last word on the subject of negotiations. Where there is a determined will, I am confident that we shall succeed in finding a way out. I have an abiding faith in the good sense of our people.

Fair and equitable opportunities of employment and steps for developing backward areas are matters which concern all India and not any one particular region or State. In dealing with them, the principal consideration has to be the even progress of all sections of the community, and more particularly the vast number of our people who are still backward socially and economically. Rights conferred by narrow legal interpretations can only be transitory. They can be real and sustaining only when they are looked upon as obligations of the State to the people. We have striven all these years in our Republic to build a society in which disparities between one citizen and another will be minimized, if not altogether eliminated. There is no difference of opinion in regard to our fundamental objective, namely, that every citizen has a right to a decent life and equal opportunities of self-development.

The year that has just gone by has been yet another period of great strain and stress for us. In different parts of the country, we have had to face one of the worst droughts ever, throwing a large number of families into acute distress. The drought has also impaired very considerably our food production, compelling us to import some quantities of foodgrains to tide over our present difficulties. Uncertainty caused by the vagaries of the weather or natural calamities is not an unusual phenomenon in any part of the world. But, to us in India who have been striving hard to push forward programmes of development, this uncertainty poses a variety of complex problems. We have a growing population and a vast number of them still living on the poverty line. Rural India which accounts for 80 per cent of our population derives its main source of sustenance from agricultural operations. A set-back to our agriculture upsets vital sectors of our economic development. We have, therefore, to evolve methods and means by which we would be in a position to meet these scourges of nature and prepare ourselves to overcome them with confidence.

Poverty and unemployment continue to be the two most serious challenges facing the nation. The drought, the power shortage and the rising prices add to our difficulties. The social change which we are committed to bring about will be real only when we have devised viable programmes for occupying our vast man-power in gainful employment. Utilising the immense land and water resources in our country to the fullest extent is of fundamental importance in this process. I consider that training in skills related to agricultural

operations has to form an integral part of our education at the pre-University stage. This will give the students a more meaningful approach to education and the much-needed self-reliance. This would also enable the wholesome participation of the youth in national life and national development.

The present unrest among the students is attributable to a large extent to their apprehensions as to their future when they complete their education. I would ask the students to give up their agitational approach and devote their time wholeheartedly to equip themselves better so that they may play their due role in the process of the social and economic advancement of the country.

I would also like to address a special word of appeal to my comrades, the workers in industry. While strike is an inalienable right of the workers, they should remember that this weapon should be resorted to only when all other methods of settlement fail. If it is used indiscriminately, as we so often witness today, its consequences will have a direct bearing on the wider national interest. Developing countries like India can ill-afford to waste available industrial capacity and resources. We have in our country the necessary scientific and technological expertise for industrial growth in a variety of fields. At this present juncture, when we are passing through what may be aptly called a difficult and crucial decade in our development, I would like to repeat a suggestion I made last year that the workers and employers should agree to a self-imposed moratorium on strikes and lockouts for a period of, say, three years. This will help advance the cause not only of higher productivity but lead to increased employment and overall prosperity.

In our international relations we have consistently followed the path of peace and negotiation. We are extremely happy to note that the peace talks in Paris have finally been rewarded with success and the Vietnam war is coming to an end. We welcome this statesman-like decision of all parties concerned and hope that this would lead to restoration of peace and stability not only to the Vietnamese people but all the Indo-Chinese people.

Our friendship with Bangladesh has branched out into co-operation in various fields, and, in the international arena, in concerted action for Peace. It is a tribute to the political genius and intellectual traditions of the people of Bangladesh that a newly independent country should have adopted a Constitution within a year of her independence and should hold general elections within three months of that Constitution coming into force.

We have continued to strive for the establishment of mutually beneficial and friendly relations with Pakistan. The Simla Agree-

ment has been a first step towards the establishment of durable peace and setting in motion the process of reconciliation and good neighbourliness between the two countries. It is a happy augury that pursuant to this agreement India and Pakistan have been able through bilateral negotiations to determine a line of control in Jammu and Kashmir which is to be respected by both sides. This should lead to an era of peace and lowering of tensions in the area. It is my earnest hope that we would be able to work for the economic prosperity and social progress of the peoples of the sub-continent.

National life to be purposeful requires a total involvement of all our people. The strength of a nation is judged by the capacity of its people for hard and disciplined work. This capacity we have in abundance. Our concept of the welfare State will reach fulfilment only when we are able to provide full employment to all our people. This is a gigantic task. Let us all put our shoulders together and work hard for its achievement.

Unity of Purpose and Action

TOMORROW THE NATION will celebrate its twenty-seventh Independence Day, and, on this sacred occasion, I have great pleasure in offering my warm greetings to my fellow citizens in India and abroad. The day reminds us every year of the pledge we took and the promises we made to give to our people a better and fuller life. Rooted in traditions of democratic conduct and behaviour, we have striven hard all these years to end poverty, ignorance and disease among the vast millions of our population. Our aim has been the establishment of a society in which there will be equality of opportunity for all citizens alike, assuring their well-being.

In our efforts towards the attainment of our national goals, we have deliberately chosen the democratic method as the only sure path to real progress. I would like to lay the greatest emphasis here on the observance of self-discipline at all levels. If people lose discipline and rectitude, their moral stature and influence get seriously eroded. The most important sanction behind a democratic form of government is the confidence which the people repose in it. It should be

the constant endeavour of those placed in power to retain this confidence. The political developments that were witnessed in some States recently are not conducive to stable government. In our system, governments are chosen by a mandate from the people. This mandate cannot be subverted to suit personal ambitions or for gaining selfish ends. Equally, the growing tendency among some people to misuse civil liberty and organize agitations which paralyse the normal life of the community constitutes a threat to public order. Freedom and liberty are cherished rights. If they are allowed to degenerate into licence, then the very basis of democratic existence may be destroyed.

We have been confronted in recent months by an unprecedented drought which has thrown millions of our people into distress and near famine conditions in large parts of the country. We are trying to meet this situation. Several steps have been taken to ward off distress and to reduce the sufferings of the afflicted people. We must curb all conspicuous consumption and wasteful spending. Currently, the monsoon has been good and there is fair prospect of a good kharif crop. In our vast country, where agriculture, as in so many countries, depends mainly on the monsoon, relative periods of scarcity and abundance are inevitable. But this only emphasises the need to observe more and more prudence in the utilisation of our resources. This is all the more important where it concerns essential commodities for the day-to-day life of the community. I feel deeply concerned and distressed that some unscrupulous people take advantage of situations of this kind and resort to hoarding, profiteering and other anti-social acts. Such people, I have no hesitation saying, should be branded as enemies of society and punished under the most stringent provisions of law.

Procurement of foodgrains by Government was undertaken in order that the State could ensure equitable distribution covering the entire population. We have also to build up a ready buffer stock to provide for an emergency. All officials and others entrusted with the work of procurement and distribution should carry out the tasks assigned to them with dedication and without fear or favour. The successful implementation of this programme is vital to the life of the community. Every citizen is entitled to get his requirement of food and other essential articles of daily use at reasonable prices, and the State has a special duty to ensure that the poorest among its population receives adequate protection.

The abnormal rise in prices, more especially of essential commodities, has become one of our major problems. This affects all sections of the community, particularly those of the fixed income

group and the poorer sections. An effective remedy for this will be a system of controlled markets, operating through consumer co-operatives and fair price shops situated in all parts of the country both in urban and rural areas. This will also have to be backed by an efficient public distribution system.

Public co-operation is of the utmost importance in all this. In times of grave economic stresses and strains, as at present, the citizens owe a duty to themselves to be vigilant guardians of the national interest. I would suggest that there should be organized in every village and town, citizens' committees to look after the consumers' interest. These committees should not take the law into their hands, but assist the lawful authority in the proper discharge of its duty. While administrative failures, unhealthy trade practices, corruption, favouritism and nepotism should be exposed without fear, the guiding principle will be constructive action. If everyone adopts a positive approach and sincerely works for the good of the people, we shall have no reason to despair.

One of the main causes for the price rise, it is felt, is the scarcity of commodities and fall in production. The workers have a duty to see that they extend their fullest co-operation in keeping up production. Every worker, as I have repeatedly emphasised, is not a mere wage-earner but an honoured citizen making his contribution towards the industrial growth of the country. His role, whether in agriculture or in industry, has a direct bearing on the country's economy. Indeed, our economic prosperity depends mainly on the workers' capacity to produce more. It is only through steady and sustained growth of agriculture and industry that we can hope to establish the egalitarian society we have been aspiring for.

While I have always held that it is the inalienable right of the workers to strike, yet considering the most difficult times we are passing through, I would like to repeat my appeal to the workers in industry that in the national interest—and even in their own personal interest—they should voluntarily observe a moratorium on strikes for a period of, say, three years. I would also at the same time appeal to the employers that they too should declare similarly a moratorium on lock-outs. Strikes, lock-outs and *bundhs* in times of economic distress ill-serve any cause. A voluntary decision to observe a moratorium at the present juncture will provide a congenial climate for safeguarding better production so vital to our economy. Such a decision will help in bringing about a genuine partnership between the workers and the employers and make them realise their respective responsibilities, and thereby lay firm foundations of good industrial relations and lasting industrial peace.

Through these years of independence extending beyond a quarter of a century, we have grown into a mature nation. Drought, floods, cyclones, etc., come to all countries as part of nature's ways, but these should not be allowed to put back the clock of progress as it is within our power to overcome them. Our resources of men and material, the rich rivers, vast areas of land still remaining uncultivated, valuable mines and mineral wealth are all there for us to exploit to their fullest capacity so that we as a nation may grow strong, and our people become free from want. We fought to gain independence from a mighty power by united action, by a willing adherence to truth and non-violence under the leadership of one of the greatest among men that humanity has known. Let us recapture that spirit of unity—unity of purpose and unity in action—in meeting the challenges that face the country today.

Need for Disciplined Conduct

TOMORROW THE NATION will celebrate the day which marks the commencement of the twenty-fifth year of our Republic. On this joyous occasion, I offer my greetings and felicitations to my fellow citizens, both within the country and abroad. At the outset, I would like to remind ourselves that like many other nations of the world, currently, we are passing through a period of unprecedented pressure and strain on our economy. The factors contributing to this situation are not entirely of our making; some are due to causes which have had global repercussions and could not be anticipated. The challenge that is posed before us has brought to the fore the imperative necessity for forging our best national endeavour.

As a people, we, in India have suffered in the past many privations and hardships. It is often found, when the country is on the threshold of recovery from one crisis, another of a greater magnitude confronts it. This only underlines the urgency and the importance of evolving a coherent and viable economic policy which would guarantee to the vast millions of our population an assured life of security with basic and minimum comforts. When we see that almost 40 per cent of our population continues to live below the

poverty line, we realise the inadequacy of our performances and achievements.

The growing unrest that we witness in different parts of the country has caused me the deepest concern and pain. Throughout our struggle for independence, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, taught us the lesson of Truth and Non-violence. It was by a strict adherence to this principle that we succeeded in making a mighty Empire bow down before the will of an unarmed people determined to undergo any sacrifice or suffering. Today, we are politically independent free to govern ourselves. The need for disciplined conduct is far greater at the present juncture. Let us remember that we cannot achieve our goals by agitations, by burning or looting of shops and godowns, by disruption of means of transport, or by strikes, lock-outs and *bundhs*. Such acts of violence and indiscipline are a direct invitation to chaos. They not only destroy and deplete stocks of available essential goods but present their movement to needy areas, and thereby aggravate an already difficult situation. They cause the deepest hurt to the innocent and poorer sections of the community. No responsible government can countenance destructive methods. Prompt and firm action has to be taken to instil confidence that personal liberty and freedom of the citizen is fully safeguarded, and law and order maintained. We are a democracy. Let it not be forgotten that it is through our unshakeable faith in democratic methods that we have been able to preserve the unity and integrity of our country.

The situation that we face today can be tackled effectively only by a total involvement of the people in every walk of life in our efforts to achieve positive results. I attach the greatest importance to public co-operation and to the creation of dependable agencies of vigilant public opinion in every part of the country. These agencies, formed through association of citizens and functioning within the bounds of law, could become the most potent instrument to deal with hoarders, black-marketeers and profiteers. It is the Government's duty to punish—and punish most stringently—those anti-social elements who by resort to dishonest and unsocial practices seek to make personal gains at the expense of the society. This duty is best discharged when Government is assisted by a vigilant public who will expose these evil doers fearlessly.

The phenomenon of a growing and crushing price rise has resulted in unsettling in a variety of ways the normal life of the community and has imposed hardships as seldom known before. The persistent shortage of essential commodities and lack of adequate stocks of foodgrains to enable their equitable distribution among the States are

some of the causes attributed to the price rise. We must evolve a basic plan of procurement applicable in all States and organize an efficient public distribution system. There has to be a determined effort to increase production, particularly of commodities essential for day-to-day consumption. We have also to build up adequate stocks. If all this is done, prices are bound to stabilize and come down to reasonable levels.

I have appealed time and again to my working class comrades, whether in the farms or in the factories, to extend their fullest co-operation to maintain production without interruption and improve productivity to the maximum possible extent. A climate of self-reliance will be created only when we utilise all our available resources to the maximum advantage. It was in this background that I gave a call two years ago for a self-imposed moratorium on the part of the workers and employers on strikes and lock-outs. I would like to repeat this call again. Mere demand for rise in wages without a corresponding will to increase production and productivity will not bring real economic gains. National interest, and not individual gain, should be our watch-word.

The affluent sections of the society should realise that they can no longer hold on to their ways of life and will have to share what they have with those less fortunately placed so that their riches subserve the common goal. The fruits of economic freedom have eluded vast millions of our people too long. This is the reality and the challenge that we have to face. As Gandhiji repeatedly used to say, real India lives in her villages, and the most solid foundation for economic self-sufficiency can be built only by raising the standard of living of the rural poor and other vulnerable sections of the society. The most rewarding resource at our disposal is the vast potential of land and the capacity of our people to work on it profitably. Any appraisal of our Five-Year Plan to be meaningful will have to keep this concept in the forefront, and our plan programmes must be oriented accordingly.

India is respected today by the nations of the world for her political maturity and development on peaceful lines. Such progress as we have made since independence has evoked the admiration of other countries. We have entered into close collaboration with a number of these countries in economic and other fields to our mutual advantage. We value highly the goodwill thus created.

Our people have shown in the past that we are capable of rising above personal or parochial considerations and stand as one man in times of national emergency. The crisis that we are facing demands of us the same unity of purpose and determination. Our

strength lies in our abiding sense of unity and national integrity. Let us direct our whole-hearted attention towards building an India in which our most urgent preoccupation will be to work for the well-being of the people.

Hard Work for Economic Prosperity

ON THE EVE of our Independence Day, I greet my fellow citizens in India and abroad and offer them my sincere good wishes for their well-being and prosperity. Let us on this day respectfully pay our humble homage to the millions of known and unknown soldiers—men and women—who, without expectation of any reward, gave their all, many of them even their lives, at the altar of freedom, under the inspiring and noble leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. These martyrs did their duty by the country. It was left to us to translate this political freedom into practical terms. We enshrined in our Constitution certain basic rights as being fundamental for securing the right to live and the right to work so as to ensure to every citizen a decent standard of life.

This shall be the last occasion for me to address the Nation as the President of India. I would like to take the opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude for the goodwill and affection that the people have bestowed on me in such abundance.

I am first and foremost a servant of the people. As President, I have been conscious of the constraints imposed upon the occupant of this high office by the Constitution in the discharge of his functions. But, even within these limits, I have striven in my own humble way to place before the nation certain ideas from time to time in the belief that they would help in finding solutions to some of the difficult problems facing the nation. A vast country like India with a population of over 570 million is bound to have continuing problems concerning the social well-being and economic prosperity of her people. The question that we have to ask ourselves is how far we have gone, and how much we have achieved in real and tangible terms during these 27 years of independence.

Poverty, unemployment, lack of enough food, clothing and shelter, malnutrition and disease have persisted with us all these years. The country has had to face ravages of nature such as drought, floods, etc., at frequent intervals. Added to these are the man-made evils of corruption, inflation and movements that disrupt the normal life obstructing production by *bundhs* and other activities aimed at thwarting democratic processes.

It is my firm belief that the only durable solution to the challenges of poverty and unemployment in India lies in purposeful development of rural India. While we talk about planning from the grass-roots level, the measures to translate this idea into action have been halting and tardy. There has to be a massive programme of settling village communities on land. Every inch of land that is available should be utilised to secure maximum agricultural production. Cottage and agro-industries suited to different areas should be organized on as wide a scale as practicable. Such a programme, I have consistently pointed out, will provide full employment to both men and women in the rural areas and will be the surest foundation for building a self-generating economy. It will also ensure at the same time, vastly increased food production—our country's first priority. A country like ours, whose predominant resource is agriculture, has no justification to have to depend on import to feed its population adequately. Our agricultural scientists are among the best in the world and are capable of devising methods of improved cultivation, even providing against the vagaries of weather. What is needed is a long-term political and budgetary commitment to achieve the goal of self-sufficiency and ensure sustained growth. A necessary corollary to this will be the direct involvement of the farmers in agricultural policy decisions.

In the matter of production and distribution of food, there is no room for political bargaining among the States, or between the Centre and the States. The whole country has to be treated as one unit, and the Central Government, in close co-ordination with the States, should take up on itself the responsibility to see that there is equitable distribution throughout the country. There is no reason why an efficient and adequate public distribution system covering not only foodgrains but also other essential commodities for daily consumption cannot be built up. This alone will bring down prices to reasonable levels and act as the most effective weapon against unhealthy trade practices. The hoarders and blackmarketeers are not unknown quantities. If there is a vigilant public opinion and a determined political will, these anti-social operations can be totally eliminated.

It has been a most regrettable development in recent years that money power has come to play such a dominant role in the elections to legislatures. This, to my mind, is at the root of corruption and corruptive influences in our public life. People may lose faith in cherished democratic values if leaders of all political parties do not take prompt corrective measures to remedy the situation by joint consultations. Adult franchise, when it is exercised freely and without fear, is the best guarantee for responsive and responsible government. We chose the parliamentary system and, through it, responsible government as the best suited to the genius of our people and as the most effective instrument of achieving desired goals.

Nation-building involves whole-hearted co-operation of all sections of the people. The State must also create conditions in which such co-operation will be forthcoming willingly. Provision of minimum comforts and basic amenities of life is the birth right of every citizen. Equally, every citizen, to whatever walk of life he may belong, must do his duty by the State so that we may progress as a Nation built on firm and strong foundations. I would make a special appeal here to my working class comrades, in the farms and in the factories, to take a pledge on this solemn occasion that they will do nothing that will hamper greater production. The right to strike and the right to impose lock-outs are extreme weapons and should never be exercised except as a last resort when all channels of negotiation are exhausted. When the country is passing through an economic crisis, a strike or a lock-out whether in industry, or in transport, or in any essential service will be counter-productive and self-defeating. Inflation and high prices can be fought effectively only by uninterrupted growth of production, more particularly of foodgrains and other commodities essential for the daily life of the community. While some of the steps recently taken to limit spending may help in checking inflation to an extent, it is necessary to take complementary steps to hold the price-line and ensure a clean and honest distribution system. Black money of which so much is talked about must be put out of circulation by stern measures. While industry should be allowed to grow freely by sound investment for the common good through well-regulated channels, investment in luxuries and non-essentials must be curbed severely. The administration has the primary duty here to see that its laws are enforced and action taken against the offenders without fear or favour. The corrupt and the inefficient should be weeded out without mercy as much as the dishonest businessman or trader is punished promptly and stringently.

The energy crisis, which today is a world phenomenon, has had its inevitable impact on our economy. This has made it all the more necessary for us to enforce discipline both in our spending power and in channelling of resources. We have made steady progress in scientific and technological development. The recent successful experiment by our scientists in nuclear explosion is no mean achievement. By tradition and temperament we are a peaceful nation. Our own conduct in the past in conflicts into which we were forced has demonstrated to the world our commitment to peaceful settlement of disputes. In pursuing the recent experiment, we are not competing for a place among the nuclear powers. Ours is a solemn affirmation that the nuclear technology that we develop will be used entirely in the interest of the progress of man.

In my visits to a large number of countries abroad during my five year tenure as President, I have found the most abundant goodwill and esteem from the peoples of those countries towards India. We look upon this goodwill and friendly relations as an asset of lasting value.

The Constitution and the laws have their due place in the conduct of the affairs of any civilized society. But what makes a country a respected member of the comity of nations is the character of its people and those who govern them. We have been fortunate in keeping India together as stable democracy all these years. We have still a long way to go and hard work to do to provide minimum comforts and basic amenities to every citizen so that he or she may lead a decent life. Appropriately, I would like to recall here the words spoken by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947, on the occasion of ushering in Independence :

"The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over."

Let us all rededicate ourselves to serve India to the best of our ability.

India and the World

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Presenting the Nehru Award for International Understanding to His Excellency Mr. Josip Aroz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in New Delhi on January 25, 1974.

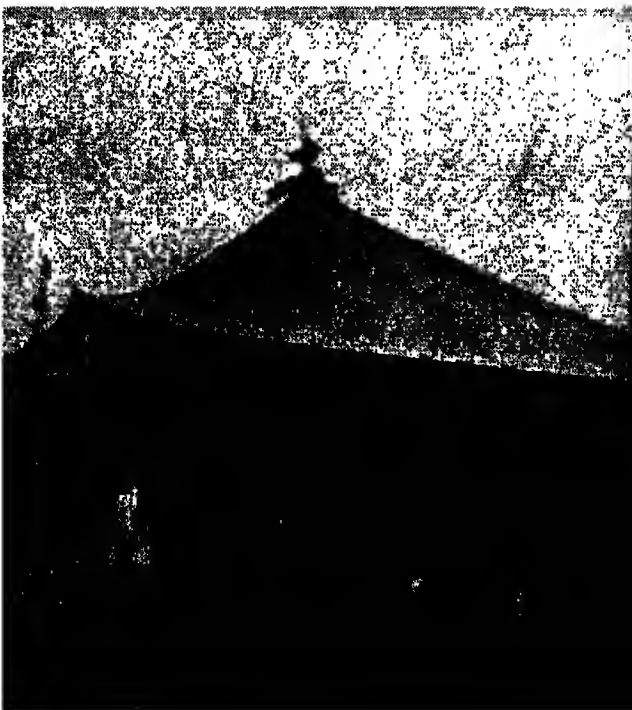
Receiving His Excellency Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations in New Delhi on February 5, 1973





*Addressing Bangladesh Jatiyo
Sangsad (Parliament) in
Dacca on June 18, 1974.*

*Opening a Japanese Buddha
Temple at Bodh Gaya in
Bihar on December 6, 1973.*





With H. E. Dr. Gustav, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in New Delhi on December 4, 1974.

With the Rt. Hon. Sir Alec Douglas-Home in New Delhi on February 7, 1972





*With H. E. the Hon. Mr. Edward Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister
of Australia and Mrs. Whitlam in New Delhi on June 5, 1973.*

Banish Hunger Win Peace

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you today for the inauguration of the 11th FAO Regional Conference for Asia and the Far East. This region has the highest concentration of agricultural population in the world and also covers a large diversity of climates varying from tropical and sub-tropical to the temperate and the cold. It has also a diversity of rainfall and soil conditions varying from wet loamy soils to semi-arid and arid lands including deserts. I believe this region is a special focus of attention by FAO and the presence of the Director-General, Dr. Boerma, in our midst today seems to testify this belief.

In the eyes of most of the countries in this region, the Food and Agriculture Organisation occupies a unique position in the United Nations family. Its basic objective of "raising levels of nutrition and standards of living and thus contributing towards an expanding world economy and ensuring humanity freedom from hunger", makes FAO an important partner in the struggle of many of the under-developed nations who are striving to overcome the legacy of long periods of neglect of economic and social progress. The task is indeed momentous. The record of FAO shows a high sense of earnestness and sincerity with which this Organisation is trying to achieve its aims.

I am happy to say that I was associated with the Silver Jubilee celebrations of this Organisation in this country exactly two years ago. I understand that the general commemorative Conference of FAO celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Organisation in Rome in November 1970 adopted a declaration which expressed its dedication to the work of "banishing hunger and malnutrition and ensuring the well-being of the rural population and of mankind generally". This is a hopeful declaration. However, its fulfilment calls for united will and a massive effort on the part of the international community.

The countries of this region are themselves striving hard for agricultural and overall economic growth. The progress in the last few years has been quite creditable. Compared with the average food production level in the first half of the sixties, there has been an increase of 25 per cent by 1971. Through the cultivation of high yielding varieties in my country as well as in a number of other countries, substantial advances have been made in the output of foodgrains.

Speech inaugurating the Eleventh F.A.O. Regional Conference for Asia and the Far East, New Delhi, October 17, 1972

Much of the credit for this achievement goes to our farmers who have demonstrated their capacity to adopt new technology for raising production. International co-operation including assistance by FAO, has contributed to the progress in developing countries. In the limited horizon of time and space, the picture appears to be all right. However, I want to pose a fundamental question, i.e. : Can we view the present rate of economic progress in the under-developed countries with satisfaction ? As for myself, I seriously doubt if any thinking persons can view this situation with equanimity. The wide and increasing disparity between the potential for economic progress of humanity today and the actual living conditions of the hundreds of millions of people in this part of the world, should be a source of horror and sorrow to the human conscience. We all know that the progress of science and technology is heightening the achievement of human race. Man has walked on moon and has put machines on planets to get information therefrom. While these heights are being scanned, there are on this good earth, countless numbers of human beings living from birth to death under the shadow of hunger and starvation, spending their entire lives under penury and unabated wretchedness. To some people, these are remote issues far removed from their own surroundings. To us in this part of the world, these are stark realities, bitter and bleak, which have to be faced and dealt with.

More than that, the enormity of the problem is tending to grow with the large mass of new generation becoming familiar with the prosperity being enjoyed by other peoples. A strong ferment is arising from growing expectations on the one side and absence of opportunities to break the shackles of poverty on the other. This is generating anger, discontent and frustration among large sections of society. The number of unemployed persons seeking employment in India runs into millions. To this are getting added each year over 4 million young men and women for whom employment has to be provided. The problem is much bigger if we take into account the moderately and grossly under-employed people, who would, if opportunities are made available, go in for more work to have more income. Although the problem of unemployment and under-employment is not acute in some countries of this region, the problem of low incomes and low standards of living of a large bulk of the population, however, is common for most of us. These problems are a serious challenge before the governments of under-developed countries in this region as well as for the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

I believe we can meet this challenge of employment by utilising productively every inch of available land. I have already placed before the country a concrete programme of gainful employment

through land colonization. The essence of this programme for starting a network of pilot projects is that all available land will be put to agricultural activity with cottage and small-scale industries growing round them. It will have as its basis co-operative community effort backed by state support and guided by specialised knowledge. These projects will be manned by a dedicated task force of picked men and women who will be instruments of rapid socio-economic change. It is our duty to canalise all the powers and tools of modern science for the benefit of the farming community, particularly in un-irrigated dry areas. I would like to recall what the great Tamil poet, Valluvar, wrote nearly two thousand years ago in his famous *Kural*: He said: "Good earth will laugh at those who sit idly complaining of poverty". It is true even today. Let us make Mother Earth yield her bounty so that we may wipe out poverty and want.

India has a strong faith in the ideals and objectives of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. In our modest way, we have always tried to extend the maximum of co-operation towards the fulfilment of these objectives. However, it is not a happy sight to see a certain degree of wavering and weakening of the faith and enthusiasm in certain quarters in this regard. The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the Second U.N. Development Decade on 1st Jan. 1971 and adopted an International Development Strategy for the decade. It envisaged that the International community must rise to the challenge of the present age of unprecedented opportunities offered by science and technology and help towards accelerated economic development throughout the world. However, it is unfortunate that there is a wide gap between the views of developed and the developing countries of the world. We have a firm faith that the concern for the acute poverty of the peoples of the developing countries is deeply embedded in the conscience of enlightened people in the developed countries. The sense of urgency for dealing with the situation and the dangers of delaying action in this regard are not properly appreciated by all. The situation should be pondered over by all those who have a clear vision of the history of mankind. What is right to do today and is not being done will produce its consequences in the years to come.

Hunger, malnutrition and under-nutrition are still the principal evils afflicting a large proportion of mankind living in under-developed countries. Global potential for food production would hardly help to solve this problem on a durable basis. The production of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities has to be raised on a sustained basis in the developing countries themselves for a number of years to come. In this context, the importance of research ex-

tension, input supplies, farmers' training, arrangements for credit, marketing and processing, soil and water management and agrarian reforms, cannot be over-emphasized. Since the economies of a large number of countries of this region are closely dependent on trade in agricultural commodities, the problems and difficulties faced by such countries due to shrinkage or inadequate expansion of markets, deterioration in terms of trade and low rates of growth in foreign exchange earnings, are also of utmost importance. I notice that all these aspects are proposed to be discussed during this Conference. I am sure the deliberations of the distinguished delegates who are going to participate in this Conference, would help to find out ways and means of expanding trade and fostering co-operation among the countries of this region and those outside.

In our own country, the last six years have been a period of dynamic growth in agriculture, particularly in the sphere of foodgrains production. The most spectacular achievement has been in the sphere of wheat production which has risen by over 100 per cent during the last five years. The experience with high yielding varieties of cotton during the last one year has also been very encouraging. Side by side with efforts for intensification of production, we have undertaken a number of special programmes of launching a direct attack on the problems afflicting the poorest sections of our agricultural population and the handicapped areas like dry and chronically drought-prone regions. In the last two years, special programmes for the benefit of small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural labour, and the unemployed agricultural population, have been started in different parts of the country.

I do not want to give a catalogue of all important efforts in the sphere of agriculture dealing both with the problems of production and social justice. My object is just to mention about the approach which we have adopted to deal with some of our pressing problems. Many of our brethren in this region as also in developing countries in other regions, are striving to deal with similar problems, though the magnitude may differ. We would be happy to benefit from the experience of other countries and we would also be glad to share our own experiences with others if they can be useful. We would also be ready to join any international co-operative endeavours which can help to solve the problems of developing countries in this region or anywhere else. We wish that more and more bridges of understanding and bonds of co-operation are built between various peoples and countries for the betterment of the entire mankind. This wish, I hope, is shared by all assembled here and this is also in accord with the ideals and aims of the FAO.

India and Bangladesh

IT GIVES ME great joy and pleasure to welcome Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to our country. This is an event which my government and the people of India have looked forward to. You are the embodiment of the undying spirit of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of human liberty and human freedom. The emergence of independent Bangladesh is itself a unique event in the annals of democratic movements in world history. You have truly been acclaimed the Father of the new Nation, Bangladesh. Your inspiring leadership, and the trust and devotion the 75 million people of Bangladesh reposed in you, have led to the birth of Sonar Bangla, and we have no doubt that it will come to occupy a pride of place in the comity of nations.

Your Excellency's return to your country to be at its head at this historic juncture will heighten and ensure the prospects for the establishment of lasting and durable peace in the region. The task of reconstruction of Bangladesh is immense. The rehabilitation of people whose homes have been shattered, and those who sought refuge in India and are now returning to Bangladesh, will be one of the most urgent problems facing your country. Under your wise leadership, I have no doubt that the people of Bangladesh will be able to devote wholeheartedly to the urgent tasks before them of rapid economic and social progress. Our two countries, India and Bangladesh, are bound in firm friendship, and both the nations are dedicated to the principles of democracy, secularism and socialism. I wish you and the people of Bangladesh Godspeed in your efforts. May you be spared long to lead your people and the nation to growing prosperity.

I CONSIDER MYSELF greatly privileged to address this Special Session of your Parliament. The occasion is of particular significance to me as, in meeting you the chosen representatives of your people, I see the

Speech welcoming Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at Palam airport, New Delhi, January 10, 1972

Speech at the Special Session of the Bangladesh Parliament, Dacca, June 18, 1973

realisation of your cherished dream which found fulfilment in 1971—a dream which the people of India shared with you. I should like to recall the Resolution which was adopted by the Parliament of India on the 31st March, 1971, which stated in part :

“This House records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph. The House wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the wholehearted sympathy and support of the people of India”.

Many of you who are Members of Parliament of free Bangladesh today were also the chosen representatives of the people of Bangladesh when your struggle for freedom broke out. In large measure it was initiated by you under the leadership of your distinguished Prime Minister; and I should like today to pay homage to you and, through you to the great and friendly people of Bangladesh and their valiant freedom-fighters, for their heroism and devotion to the values of individual freedom, justice and liberty. We were proud to share in your struggle, for it was dedicated to the ideals we also believe in. It is this dedication, and not only shared experience, which ensures the strength and the continuity of Indo-Bangladesh friendship.

What are these ideals? We talk about freedom, but we desire freedom not simply as an end in itself; but as a means to enrich the lives of individual human beings and so the life of the nation. Our peoples must have the knowledge and the confidence that they can participate in the life of the nation and guide its destiny, and in order that they may be able to do so it is not enough merely to indulge in abstract talk of freedom but to make the conditions in which the exercise of such freedom is possible. It is for this reason that we wish to give our peoples, at the very least, the necessities of life. It is for this reason that we wish to provide them with the means by which their mental horizon can be expanded. It is only by the deliberate participation of the thinking individual that a nation's life can be enriched. It has become hackneyed to talk about the removal of disease and ignorance; but unless we can bend our efforts to the utmost for this purpose we shall be depriving our nations of the greatness of which they are capable.

It is unfortunate that through the centuries greatness has come to be equated with military prowess, but I think we can take legitimate pride in the fact that in both our countries it is the man of peace, of goodwill, or comparison that has been accorded the highest respects.

We are not rich nations, Mr. Speaker. We do not yet suffer from the problems of affluence; but in order that the vast majority of our peoples may be able to attain their full stature as human beings,

we have to ensure the equitable distribution of the national wealth. This effort is naturally accompanied by social strains, but these too can be mitigated by the realisation that there can be no fuller life than one dedicated to the service of one's fellow human beings. Perhaps one's pride for one's nation is at the root of this realisation; and indeed we have seen that it is this burning pride that has created the State of Bangladesh and is carrying it to economic progress and social cohesion.

We in India have watched with admiration how within twelve months of a harrowing liberation war, you have given to your nation a democratic Constitution and defined the principles which will guide it. In your quest for a democratic and egalitarian society you have enunciated the highest ideals of man and taken bold steps. These have evoked the warmest fraternal feelings of the people of India.

In the search for economic and social progress, India and Bangladesh have established areas of co-operation and shared institutions. Our co-operative endeavours in the spheres of development, commerce, transport and communications, cultural exchanges, science and technology have made a good beginning. Indeed so many vital aspects of the development of our economies have already been enriched by co-operation between our two countries. We in India are happy at this co-operation because we are convinced that it is for the benefit of both our peoples. It is possible to argue that each of our countries can develop without such mutual co-operation. But then the question arises, at what cost? Are we to put up artificial barriers between our two countries, merely because we are separate sovereign States? To do so is surely nationalism at its most chauvinistic. If we act together, it is so that we can give to our peoples a more joyous future without detracting by a single iota from the sovereign right of each of our nations to make its own decisions. We have recently been happy to welcome to India your great Prime Minister. We welcomed him as a great statesman, as a great friend and as the representative of a people who believe in the progress of our two nations through friendship and co-operation.

In the field of foreign affairs, your success has been spectacular. Based on the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, your foreign policy has brought about the acknowledgement of your country as a full-fledged member of the international community. Bangladesh is today recognised by 123 countries. It is a member of 26 international organisations. And in the very near future, India and other members of the United Nations will have the opportunity of welcoming your country into the United Nations Organisation to take your rightful place in the councils of the world as an independent and sovereign State.

We are particularly gratified at your being a full-fledged member of the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. I am sure that your presence in this important world forum will strengthen the forces of peace in the world.

We rejoice in Bangladesh's successes, not only as a friend and a neighbour, but because our two countries share the same principles in the creation of a stable international order. Both India and Bangladesh desire friendship with all countries of the world. Both firmly believe that the sovereign equality of nations, respect for each other's territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and development of relations for mutual benefit should be the guiding principles of relations between States. Guided by these principles India looks forward to working closely with Bangladesh in the cause of Peace.

Our co-operation has already had some measure of success in the sub-continent. India and Bangladesh can take pride in the joint initiatives they have taken in the last two years to resolve the problems arising from the conflict of 1971. Mr. Speaker, the magnanimity of your leadership and of your people have made possible those initiatives. We hope that they will have helped to put an end to an era of suspicion and strife so that we on this sub-continent can direct our attention to the pressing tasks of development for the welfare of our peoples.

Yet it is obvious that certain trends in the world at large affect, and will continue to affect, us in a fundamental way. It is perhaps the growing inequality between the developed and developing nations that has become a central issue of our time. The non-aligned forum and the United Nations and its agencies have been giving consideration to this problem. We are convinced that closer co-operation amongst the non-aligned nations will enable them to resist external pressures and to exercise fuller control over their natural resources for the benefit of their peoples. We are convinced of the need to make progress in the directions envisaged at Algiers and at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. In this vital task, as in other fields of endeavour, we are glad to co-operate with Bangladesh for it is our co-operation which so greatly increases the possibilities of success.

I must thank you for the honour that you have done me today by giving me this opportunity to address you. I bring to you, and through you to the 75 million people of Bangladesh, the greetings of the people of India and their feelings of sincere friendship and good wishes for the progress, prosperity and stability of your country. I believe that the friendship between India and Bangladesh, based on mutual respect and equality, and baptised in the difficult times of

your liberation struggle, will grow in substance and we shall witness a glorious efflorescence. I believe that the co-operation between our two countries, and the spirit of goodwill that underlies it, will bring durable peace to our sub-continent and will contribute to stability and peace in the world.

I wish you and the people of Bangladesh all happiness and prosperity.

India and Turkey

OUR RELATIONS WITH Turkey are as old as history but they received a new impetus during the days of Turkey's renaissance under the great Ataturk from whom we derived inspiration in our own national struggle. In both our countries today, there is a rational and forward-looking outlook, and deep respect for the principles of freedom, democracy and secularism. We value this basic harmony of outlook of our two countries, even though our foreign policies have taken different courses.

As the envoy of a friendly state, it will interest you to know that India has no territorial ambitions. We value peace, seek friendly relations with all nations, regardless of ideological or other differences. Peace in the sub-continent is an imperative necessity for us, if notwithstanding the burden of our problems we are to develop and progress, and, indeed to assure our people the necessary minimum economic and cultural standards. Our search for peace and harmony among the states of the sub-continent is a non-variable element in our policy. The world can help us by respecting this urgent need of our sub-continent.

We attach great importance to our relations with friendly Turkey and are keen to further develop co-operation with her in all fields, and notably in the field of economic co-operation, where much can be done. We hope, that during Your Excellency's tenure as your country's Ambassador in India, you will give this matter your most urgent consideration. On our side, you can assuredly count on my Government to give you ready co-operation at every level in the fulfilment of your mission.

Speech while accepting the credentials of the Ambassador of Turkey, Mr. Gundogdu Ustun, New Delhi, March 16, 1972

India and Japan

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend to you a warm welcome on your appointment as the Ambassador of Japan to India. Our two countries have been bound by common ties of culture and religion dating back over many centuries. These ties have been further strengthened with the establishment of direct contact between our peoples and governments. We share many ideals together, the most important being the preservation of a democratic way of life and pursuit of international peace and prosperity. These shared ideals deepen and enrich our relations.

As an Asian nation, we have admired Japan's economic and technological progress, which has placed her in the forefront of the world's advanced countries. Japan's progress is a source of inspiration to the developing countries of Asia and the sharing of her experience and her co-operation in assisting in their development would help in accelerating the pace of progress throughout Asia.

India and Japan are two major countries of Asia. Close co-operation and mutual understanding between them would further peace, progress and stability of Asia to which both our countries stand dedicated. I have every confidence that during the tenure of your office in India you would continue the efforts of your distinguished predecessors for deepening the bonds of friendship and understanding between our two countries. In these efforts you can count on every assistance from my government.

I AM DEEPLY grateful to the International Buddhist Brotherhood Association of Japan and the Reception Committee headed by the Railway Minister, Shri L. N. Misra, for inviting me to be here today. I deem it a great privilege and honour to inaugurate this beautiful Buddhist Temple built in traditional Japanese style in the holiest place

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Japan, Mr. Taisaku Kojima, New Delhi, March 18, 1972

Speech at the inauguration of the Japanese temple at Bodh Gaya (Bihar), December 8, 1973

associated with Buddhism. I offer my warm congratulations to the people of Japan for building this fine structure in the hallowed spot. Theirs is a happy combination of tradition and modernity. This harmonious blending of an ancient culture with modern science and technology has placed the talented people of Japan in the forefront of the world today. Japan has an important role to play in world affairs and I am sure she would do her best to promote not only the unity and prosperity of Asia but also world peace.

Japan has taken a big lead in spreading the noble message of the Buddha throughout the world. Four years ago, I had the privilege of inaugurating the Vishwa Shanti Stupa built by Japan Buddha Sangha at Rajgir and today we are inaugurating this Japanese temple here. It is gestures like these that bring our two peoples together in indissoluble bonds of friendship and understanding. Today, more than ever before, the world needs the message of peace and goodwill preached by the Buddha. The Buddha's teachings have universal relevance and there could be no better guide than he for a new world order based on peace and harmony.

The very life of the Buddha was a continuous message. Renouncing his kingdom, wealth and family, he sought salvation and found that neither extremes of total mortification nor complete indulgence would lead one to the attainment of bliss and eternal happiness. On the other hand, the extremes only lead one to frustration and discontent, leading to misery and unhappiness. The Buddha, therefore, advocated the middle path which one ought to follow.

In the truest sense of the word, he was a rationalist, and reason occupied a high place in his scheme of things, so much so that, the system which he evolved may well be described as the path of reason. The Buddha enjoined on everyone to purify himself in the light of his own reason. To achieve this high ideal, he propounded the Noble Eightfold Path, which embodied eight principles or rules of conduct. In these, there are five prohibitions, namely, kill not, steal not, commit no adultery, lie not, drink no strong drink, of special significance. These five rules came to be known later on as *Panchsheel*. According to the Buddha one who remains steadfast in these principles or norms of conduct and follows constantly the call of his reason, can attain *Nirvana*. These principles of conduct have universal application and form the basis of civilised life.

The Buddha did not want us to adopt theories which could not be verified by observation. This freedom from dogmatism is a precious legacy which he has bequeathed to us. His main object was to bring about reformation in the religious practices and a return to the basic principles. He aimed at the development of a new type of free man,

free from prejudices and intent on working out his own future. His all-embracing humanism crossed racial and national barriers.

In the present world enveloped as it is by forces of violence, untruth and greed, the message of the Buddha has a special meaning and profound significance. One no doubt ought to live and live well, but one should not be greedy and avaricious. Buddhism does not preach renunciation of wants or complete surrender to them. One should cultivate a spirit of detachment. In one of his sermons, the Buddha stated as to what would lead to the attainment of peace, mind and tranquillity of the soul. He preached : "Let us live happily, free from afflictions among men who are sick at heart. Let us live happily, free from care among the busy. Let us dwell happily, free from yearning among men who are anxious. Let us live happily, then, though we call nothing our own."

WE HAVE HISTORICAL ties of friendship with Japan and since India's independence these ties have been further strengthened. I am happy to note that India is receiving valuable assistance from your country in our economic reconstruction. Japan is a major power in Asia which has made outstanding progress in industrial and economic fields. Your hard-working people have set an example in self-reliance and innovative spirit.

Our economies are not competitive but complementary and, therefore, it is my firm belief that there is great scope for mutual co-operation, particularly in the economic and industrial field. We are both interested in peace and progress in Asia and we also equally believe in promoting regional co-operation.

I agree with the sentiments expressed by you that greater understanding and co-operation between our two countries would contribute to the progress and well-being of Asia. This is an important task and our two countries share a common responsibility. I have no doubt that you will make a success of your mission. On our part, I should like to assure you that in this endeavour you will receive all possible co-operation and assistance from my Government at all levels.

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new Ambassador of Japan, Mr. Kinya Niiseki, New Delhi, February 11, 1974

India and Thailand

I AM DEEPLY moved by the honour which this great institution of learning has just conferred on me. I am conscious that this gracious gesture is an expression of the esteem in which India and her people are held by the people of Thailand. This University named after one of your illustrious Kings, is known for its academic standards and scholastic traditions. Started seventy years ago as an institution to train officials for government services, today it embraces faculties in Arts, Education, Science, Engineering, Architecture and Commerce. It has also a faculty for Political Science, a subject so intimately concerned with governmental functioning.

I feel a sense of pride in becoming an alumnus of this centre of learning and am happy to join the ranks of all the fine products of this University, who have made a name both nationally and internationally.

Problems of education have always interested me deeply. I have no claim to be an educationist as my life-long service has been to the cause of the workers. Yet, the problem of education of our people has often agitated my mind and I would on this occasion like to share some of my thoughts with you.

What, I have often asked, should be the content and purpose of education? I firmly believe that education should not be divorced from the vital needs of society. Therefore, we must lay great emphasis on the scientific and technological education of our young people so that they make a worthy contribution to the nation's economic development. At the same time I often wonder whether we would not go wrong in placing knowledge before wisdom and material objectives before human and spiritual qualities. If in our pursuit of knowledge we fail to inculcate education which teaches us love and sympathy, understanding and tolerance, service and sacrifice, goodwill and charity, we may run the risk of making great economic progress but losing our souls. I am sure I do not have to expatiate on this point in this land of Buddhism.

The Buddha did not want us to adopt theories which cannot be verified by observation. This freedom from dogmatism is a precious legacy which he has bequeathed to us. His main object was to bring about reformation in the religious practices and a return to the basic principles. He aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices and intent on working out his own future. His

Speech while accepting an honorary degree at the Chulalongkorn University Bangkok, March 28, 1972

all-embracing humanism crossed racial and national barriers. The Buddha's teachings have universal relevance and there could be no better guide for a new world order based on peace and harmony.

Education which used to be regarded as the means towards the development of an individual's personality is viewed today in a larger perspective, as something which not merely develops an individual but also contributes to the development of society. The education of the individual should lead to socially useful results and his contribution should serve social ends. This, in turn, leads to wider implications, when national objectives have to be harmonised with international objectives. We have already witnessed the beginnings of such changes in the functioning of international organisations like the United Nations and its specialised agencies. As the Philadelphia Charter of the I.L.O. rightly proclaimed years ago, "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere".

While we should provide for such education which ennobles our young people and broadens their human sympathies and understanding, I have no doubt that we must so educate our youth that they make a worthy contribution to the nation's economic, social and cultural progress. They must be well-equipped to serve the nation and the human society in one field or another on the strength of the knowledge acquired by them.

Every individual is capable of producing many times more than his personal requirement. Why should we lose his productive capacities? The nation needs every hand in its enormous tasks of economic development and social progress. What justification have we to tell the young people that there is no work for them? A single individual unemployed is a sad commentary on national planning. I, therefore, strongly believe that the educational system and economic planning must ensure the fullest utilisation of human resources—the youth of our countries in the service of the nation and in the service of mankind. Otherwise, their frustration and bitterness can only lead to serious economic and social problems.

In our own country, we are struggling hard to root out the causes that stand as an impediment for the fuller growth of the human personality. Through planning we are trying to provide the basic minimum necessities to the vast millions of our people. We are on the march and we shall succeed. Universities have a vital role to play in this onward march of the people. In my conception, the Universities not only belong to those who study there but to the entire community. Apart from the knowledge, skills and insights that they impart to those who enter their portals, they also act as the conscience of society. I am sure Universities in the developing countries



*With their Majesties the King
and Queen of Thailand at
the Chitralada Place in
Bangkok on March 27, 1972.*



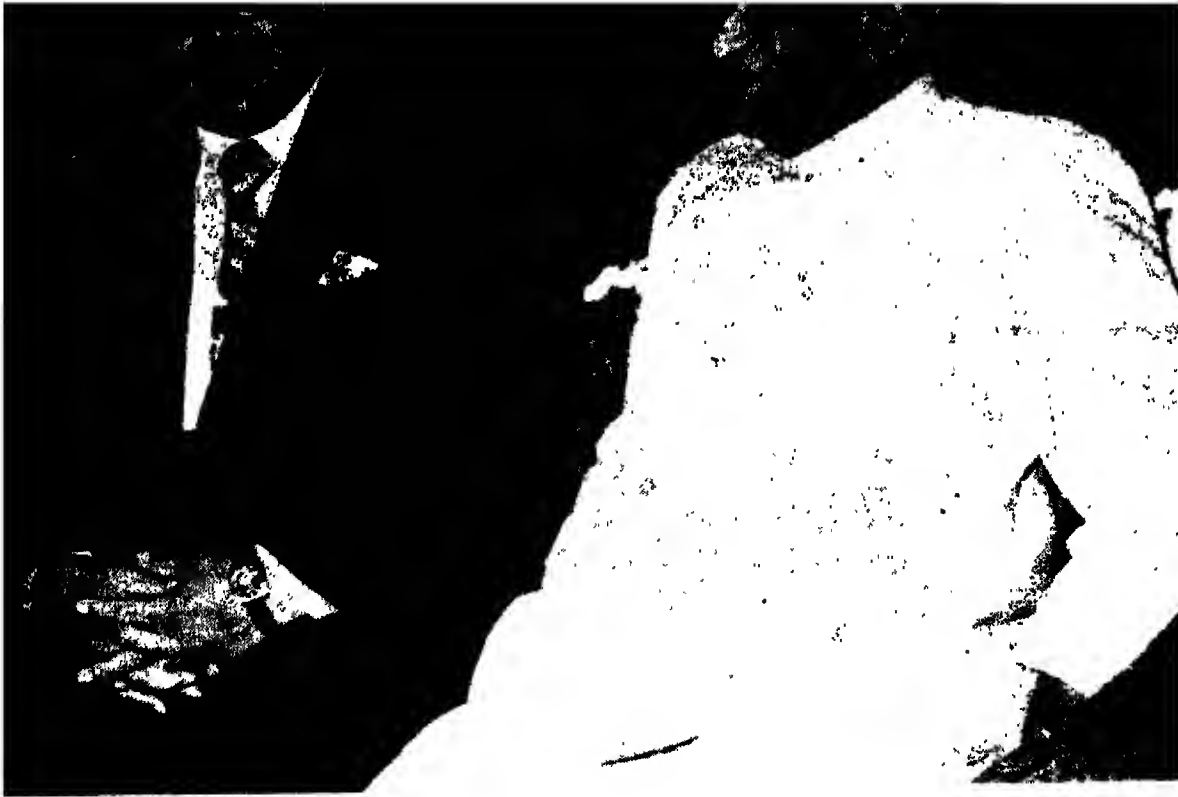
With H. E. Mr. Anwar El-Sadat President of the Arab Republic of Egypt in New Delhi on February 24, 1974.

With H. E. Mr. Mohsin Ahmed Al-Aini, Prime Minister of Yemen Arab Republic in New Delhi on August 11, 1972.





*With H. E. Mr. Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi, First Vice-President of the
United Republic of Tanzania in New Delhi on February 21, 1973.*



With H. R. H. Prince Fatatehi Tuipelehake, Prime Minister of Tonga, in New Delhi on November 5, 1972.

At the banquet given by His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellasie I, Emperor of Ethiopia at Adis Ababa on September 25, 1972.



would rise to their full stature and be the harbingers of a new life for the people.

May I thank you again for the honour which this University has conferred upon me this morning. May I wish all the members of this great University—all the professors and students—every success in their endeavours and to the Chulalongkorn University a great future of service to the young of Thailand and to international understanding and friendship.

MY VISIT TO Wat Bovornives has been most educative and has been one which has left a profound impression upon me. I have been deeply moved by the way of life in these holy surroundings, the spirit of love, understanding and compassion which prevails amongst all of you, and the serenity and calmness of the atmosphere here. This visit recalls to my mind the old concept of Vihara which existed in ancient India and which prevailed in centres like Nalanda, Sarnath, Kushinagar and Shravasti—which are again becoming centres of international understanding inspired by the teachings of the Buddha.

Our two countries share an ancient common heritage. One of the most important pillars of this heritage is Buddhism. In fact, it is through Buddhism that according to recorded history, the first dialogue between our peoples took place. It was in the third century B.C. that the illustrious emissaries, Sona and Uttara of the Indian Emperor Asoka came to the city Nakhon Pathom, not far from here, and brought with them the message of the Lord. I have come to Thailand as a pilgrim in the footsteps of these two holy emissaries and should like to offer my homage to the spirit of Buddhism enshrined in this temple. The philosophy of the Lord Buddha and his preachings have always been a vital part of the Indian way of life and of Indian thought. We also believe in the preaching of the Lord Buddha in which he proclaimed the eight-fold path based on universal brotherhood, peace and non-violence. These preachings, in fact, have exercised a tremendous influence on the course of human history through many centuries. In today's world, when human values preached by the Lord Buddha have been set aside and the thirst for power and acquisition have overcome those of humanity and self-

denial, when hatred and animosity have overcome love and understanding, the need of following the preachings of the Lord Buddha has become all the greater. Mankind is groping for peace and progress, for an era in which we can all live in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. The work, therefore, being done in Wat Bovornives and in the Maha Mukut University which is also located here is of great importance. You are producing messengers who go out and preach the gospel of peace, non-violence and universal brotherhood and assist those forces working for mutual understanding and for peace and stability in this world.

India and Afghanistan

MAY I, AT the outset, express my deep appreciation for the warm and friendly welcome I have received in Kabul. "

Coming here, I observe afresh how the bonds of friendship between our two countries have remained constant in the past and how they continue unimpeded today. From and through Afghanistan have come many of the ideas and cultural influences which we now regard as most typically Indian. From India, various ideas and thoughts have spread through and beyond Afghanistan, most notably the religion of the Buddha. Our shared past is a long history of the intermingling of men and ideas.

What is perhaps very significant is that even in this modern age, this traditional relationship has remained alive and continues to expand. Despite difficulties we have increased our trade with each other and evolved joint programmes of economic co-operation. In these endeavours, we have been able to respond to each other with friendly concern and quick understanding. This is not surprising, for there is no conflict of interest between our countries, but the real challenge is to find the means to put into effect the co-operative schemes for development that both of us desire. This is the challenge for the future, and it provides an exciting area of opportunity for both India and Afghanistan. The Indo-Afghan Joint Commission for Economic Co-operation is the agency established at high level by our two countries for this purpose and I hope that its

Speech at the banquet held in his honour by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, Kabul, July 11, 1972

endeavours will not only benefit the people of Afghanistan but also bind India and Afghanistan ever more closely together.

I would like to make a reference to one of the cardinal principles we hold in common, our allegiance to the policy of non-alignment. India has made this the basis of her approach to the world in the firm belief that it represents a means of extending the area of peace and co-operation for the rapid development of countries such as ours in the developing world. We salute Afghanistan as the originator in this part of the world of a policy of independent development, free from the over-bearing influence or control of any foreign power. Such an independent, non-aligned approach has distinguished Afghan policy since the time of her independence more than fifty years ago and has always commanded the respect of other countries. There has been fruitful co-operation between our countries within this framework of non-alignment and I am confident that we will continue to work with understanding in the noble cause of harmony in the world.

Afghanistan and India belong to the same region and share many of the problems of the region. We are conscious that peace and prosperity are indivisible, and that the problems of the sub-continent affect also our Afghan brethren. We have just emerged from a troubled passage in the affairs of the sub-continent. It has been our principal endeavour to resolve these differences honourably, peacefully, equitably and permanently. It is in this spirit that my Prime Minister met President Bhutto in Simla and I am happy to say that the agreement signed between them opens up the possibilities of friendly relations with Pakistan. This is the hope of every Indian and particularly of those millions in the sub-continent who have recently undergone immeasurable hardship and suffering. We see in a durable peace the brightest prospects of economic collaboration in our sub-continent and we have great hopes of consolidating further the traditional intimate relations with Afghanistan. I trust and sincerely hope that we are now on the threshold of an era of peace and constructive activity which will bring benefits to all the peoples in the area.

IT IS A very great pleasure for me to be here on this occasion when Your Majesty is formally inaugurating the Institute of Child Health.

This project is the most ambitious scheme of Indo-Afghan co-operation that we have undertaken so far. The foundation-stone for this fine building was laid by Dr. Zakir Husain, the then Vice-President of India, when he came on a visit to Afghanistan in 1967. Two years later, the project received a considerable impetus from the visit to Kabul of Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi. As I stand here on this auspicious day when this fine institute is to be inaugurated, I am conscious of the value placed on it and the interest taken in it by our leaders. Needless to say, from the Afghan side there has been the most detailed and continued commitment to the project at all levels.

The Institute that is being opened today is one of the largest projects abroad under the Indian technical co-operation programme. As such, it is a symbol of the high value that India places on its relationship with Afghanistan. Equally, it demonstrates the sense of partnership that the two countries have assumed in their common quest for a better life for their citizens.

The value of the Institute of this kind cannot be measured by the splendour of the buildings or the excellence of the equipment alone. The process of healing for which this Institute is meant requires first and foremost trained and dedicated workers. India has provided a small number of specialists to man some of the essential jobs in the Institute while the great bulk of the staff has been provided by Afghanistan. For both sides, the real challenge of the hospital is beginning only now, for they must learn to share and deploy their skills for the benefit of those who come to the Institute for treatment.

Apart from the Institute, there are various other Indo-Afghan projects equally indicative of the determination from both sides to co-operate for mutual advantage.

To illustrate this point, I would refer to the Chardeh Ghorband Irrigation-cum-Micro-Hydel Project. Here Indian experience has been applied directly to an Afghan situation which is very similar to that found in certain mountainous parts of India. In a modest way, this project will alter for the better the lives of the people of the region and give them amenities and facilities that they have lacked till now.

While progress in the future is of course very important, it is just as essential to preserve those aspects of the past which are a source of pride and inspiration in the development of a nation. One of the most interesting Indo-Afghan projects is that for the preservation of the

Buddhist monuments at Bamiyan. These magnificent monuments have been subject to the ravages of time and were in danger of crumbling away. Co-operative efforts between India and Afghanistan to halt this process and preserve the site for posterity has now entered into its fourth season.

India and the United Arab Emirates

I HAVE MUCH pleasure in welcoming you to India as the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United Arab Emirates. This is indeed an historic occasion. The people and the Government of India have watched with interest and sympathy the developments in the former Trucial States leading to the emergence of the United Arab Emirates as a sovereign State, which has now assumed its rightful place among the comity of nations. We consider these developments to be a positive step in the direction of peace and stability in the region.

Our people are no strangers to your shores. For centuries, flourishing trade has existed between us. My Government firmly hopes that these ancient ties will be further strengthened and intensified in the years to come. We look forward to ever-growing cultural inter-change and friendly contacts, enriching the lives of both our people.

The people and the Government of India have always supported the just cause of the Arab people for their legitimate rights and aspirations; we shall continue this support which is based on the principles of equity and international conduct.

India and Vietnam

IT GIVES ME, great pleasure to welcome Your Excellency as the first Envoy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to India. Your arrival in India as the first Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a landmark in the growing friendly relations between our two countries.

With your country, we have historical ties of friendship and as you would yourself notice in days to come, there exists in this country a great fund of goodwill and admiration for the heroic people of Vietnam and for their brave struggle to maintain their independence and freedom from foreign interference. In this context, it would be appropriate to recall the visit of our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to your country and the visit of your great leader, Ho Chi-minh, to our country. President Ho Chi-minh is a familiar name to everyone in India and we still carry very happy memories of his visit.

As fellow Asian countries, we share many aspirations and ideals, just as we are confronted with many common problems of reconstruction and development. This makes it more imperative for our two countries to work in close and friendly co-operation between each other and to benefit by each other's experience.

We have been closely following the recent endeavours towards achieving peace in Vietnam. It is our most sincere hope that an agreement acceptable to both sides will be signed soon and peace restored to your war-torn land. The Vietnamese people have suffered so long that an end to the war and suffering brooks no further delay.

In the post-war period, your primary concern would naturally be the economic reconstruction of your country and it is there that we can co-operate even more closely to our mutual benefit. I am grateful for the warm greetings of President Ton Duc Thong and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and I would like to fully reciprocate them.

Excellency, allow me once again to welcome you to our country as the Envoy of a great nation and people. I would like to wish you all success in your assignment and assure you of our fullest co-operation in your task of bringing our two countries closer together. I have no doubt that through your efforts the relations between our two countries which are already close will grow from strength to strength. I wish you a happy and fruitful stay in India.

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Mr. Chu Van Bien, New Delhi, November 26, 1972

India and the Philippines

I AM VERY happy to welcome your Excellency to India as the Ambassador of the Republic of the Philippines. I greatly appreciate the kind sentiments you have expressed about India and the bonds uniting our two countries.

Both India and the Philippines, as developing nations, have common objective in striving for economic progress and social justice. It is our firm belief that our democratic institutions can expect to retain the confidence of our people only if they genuinely meet at least their basic aspirations. I hope you will have many opportunities of seeing our efforts in this regard.

I am happy to note that India and the Philippines are developing closer economic and cultural relations.

We particularly recall the visit of Her Excellency Mrs. Marcos in October 1971, during which we had a very useful exchange of views about co-operation between India and the Philippines. We were deeply shocked by the attack on her life and were relieved to know that she is well on the road to normal health. Our best wishes for her quick recovery. We fully reciprocate your keen desire to maintain and further develop the cordial relations between the Governments and the peoples of our two countries. I would like to assure Your Excellency of the fullest co-operation of my Government for this purpose.

India and Iran

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you to India. As you have very rightly remarked, strong and ancient ties bind our two countries together. Centuries of contact between our two countries has created for us a common shared past. There is a great deal of similarity in the tasks facing our two countries and there is much that we can learn from each other in solving them. Friendship, understanding and co-operation between Iran and India will not only

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new Ambassador of the Philippines Mr. Romeo S. Busuego, New Delhi, December 12, 1972

Speech while accepting the credentials from the New Ambassador of Iran, Mr. Mohammad Muazzami Goodarzi, New Delhi, January 15, 1973

benefit our two countries, but will also be a factor for international peace and stability. The cordial relationship that has for centuries existed between our two countries is a matter of great satisfaction to us, and we would like to expand our co-operation still further in all fields. May I assure you, that in your efforts to develop and intensify Iranian-Indian relations in all fields and all levels, you will find the fullest co-operation and assistance from my Government.

May I also request you, to convey to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah Aryamehr, my warm greetings and good wishes for his health and happiness and for the prosperity and happiness of the friendly people of your great country.

India is, as you know, a land of diversity with many climates, many languages and many religions. This diversity is made possible by a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding. The thread of Indian unity runs through this diversity, forging these diverse people into one united nation. During your tour of duty in India, you will be able to see at first hand something of our ancient past and our contemporary achievements. I wish you a pleasant and fruitful sojourn in our country.

India and Malaysia

I AM DEEPLY grateful for this opportunity to show our sincerest esteem and appreciation for Your Majesty and to reciprocate in some measure the affectionate welcome and warm hospitality that you and your people have extended to us since our arrival in your beautiful country. We are particularly grateful to Her Majesty the Haja Permaisuri Agung for her gracious presence in our midst this evening.

We have been following in India with great interest the praiseworthy developments in Malaysia. We have witnessed with admiration the progress of the friendly people of Malaysia under your wise and inspiring leadership in the task of national reconstruction and development. What we have seen during our visit of your achievements and efforts has deeply impressed us. We have particularly noted how Malaysia has held fast to her traditional humanistic approach and the method of a continuous open dialogue in dealing with all problems. Indeed the far-sighted and dynamic leadership of your

Speech at the banquet given in honour of His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Agung, Kuala Lumpur, March 7, 1973

Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, is a guarantee for the bright and prosperous future of your lovely country.

We are indeed grateful to Malaysia for the friendship which she has shown for India ever since the independence of our two countries. Malaysia will not find India wanting to the extent that it is within our capacity to be of assistance to your people in developing and consolidating their national strength and prosperity. The fact that we each have problems of our own is primarily an indication of our growth and of the process of modernisation in our countries. I am confident that in this process our peoples will always retain their cherished values of tolerance for diversity, respect for human dignity and brotherhood of man. The exchange of visits of the leaders of our countries will not only revive and revitalise our old friendship but also help us to benefit by each other's experience and ideas in the process of development. Whether as members of the Commonwealth or of the Colombo Plan or the family of non-aligned countries or as partners in the United Nations Organisation and its organs like the ECAFE, India and Malaysia have a record of co-operation, endeavour and friendship. I am sure that with goodwill and understanding on both sides this co-operation will grow from strength to strength and bring to our people greater opportunities for progress and prosperity, as well as contribute towards peace and stability in Asia and the world.

India and Singapore

I AM HAPPY to welcome you to India. I trust your mission in India will strengthen the friendly relations between India and Singapore. I hope you will find your stay here interesting and fruitful.

I fully reciprocate your sentiments about the closeness of views and similarity of interests of our two countries. My visit to your country left on my mind an indelible impression of the discipline, dynamism and dedication of your Government and people. We, in India, greatly admire your success in social integration and economic progress. We desire manifold and meaningful co-operation with Singapore.

You have come to us at a time of significant changes in the international scene. The anxieties of the cold war have lessened greatly;

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new High Commissioner of Singapore, Mr. Kenneth Michael Byrne, New Delhi, July 20, 1973

but the need to maintain the independent postures of non-aligned nations continues to remain although the context may have changed. Old alliances, especially military ones, are losing their validity; new areas of agreement and patterns of co-operation are emerging in different parts of the world, including Asia. We are all heartened by the end of the war in Vietnam and Laos. The emergency of secular, democratic and non-aligned Bangladesh provides a great opportunity for creating in the sub-continent relationships of confidence and co-operation. The foresight and wisdom of your government was reflected in the very early recognition last year of this new reality with its tremendous potential for harmony in Asia.

You have referred in generous terms to our past role and possible future contribution to the affairs of Asia. As in the past, we seek no more than the independence and integrity of all countries, their rapid social and economic progress, and peace and harmony in the region. We also look forward to developing relations of friendship, trust and understanding with all our Asian neighbours.

India and Nepal

IT GIVES US great pleasure to have Your Majesties with us this evening. Even though you have been here only for a short while, Your Majesty must have noticed the feelings of affection and friendship which our people have for the people of Nepal. I have no doubt in my mind that the opportunity which Your Majesties have given us to discuss matters of bilateral and international importance, and of seeing our country in the next few days will further strengthen the tradition of understanding and co-operation which has always characterised our relations.

Our common borders across which our peoples have traversed from time immemorial in search of spiritual solace, peace and understanding are open borders of friendship. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the leaders of the two countries should have frequent opportunities to meet each other and discuss questions of mutual interest.

Since Your Majesty has been at the helm of affairs of Nepal, you have given a new strength and a new plan for harnessing the develop-

Speech at the banquet given in honour of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, New Delhi, October 12, 1973

mental potential of Nepal. The vigour, dynamism and idealism which you have brought to the task of developing your country has elicited the widest admiration. We in India, are proud and happy that we, as friends, have been given an opportunity to be involved in the great task of Nepal's economic development.

In a sense, this is precisely the task to which we have addressed ourselves in our country. This is all the more reason for our two countries to benefit from each other's experience and come together to harness our energies in this common endeavour.

May I also take this opportunity to reiterate to Your Majesty our determined resolve to respect the urges and the aspirations of Nepal in the spirit of the time-honoured principles of peaceful co-existence.

A healthy relationship between two countries, more particularly between neighbours, cannot be developed except when they respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and refrain from interfering in each other's domestic affairs. We have followed these principles scrupulously in our relations with all countries and I would, in particular, like once again to reassure Your Majesty that we would earnestly strive for a future of peace, prosperity and progress of our two nations based on the principles of sovereign equality and mutual respect.

I am gratified to note that our countries have co-operated not only bilaterally but in many international forums, like the UN, its specialised agencies, and the Non-Aligned movement. I believe that this co-operation has advanced the interest of world peace and we on our part look forward to continuing this co-operation.

Our views on various matters of international importance are very similar. Both our countries are playing a useful role in the comity of nations and have an identical approach to such international problems as racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the problems of developing countries, and the reduction of international tensions.

Equally, we are disturbed when threats to international peace are generated in any part of the world. We view with grave anxiety the war that is raging in West Asia. My Government is firmly of the view that no nation has the right to retain the fruit of its aggression. Our sympathy and support are fully with the Arab people who have been victims of Israeli aggression. I am sure, Your Majesty will agree that peace can endure only if its foundations are laid on equality and justice. That is the solution towards which all of us have to work, for, without it, a patchwork solution will remain precarious, liable to breakdown under the slightest stress.

Closer home, we should not remain content with peace in the sub-continent, but should attempt to invest it with a co-operative effort, to the mutual benefit of all the peoples which inhabit this sub-

continent. We hope that all the countries of the region will develop a structure of friendly co-operation in the sub-continent and, in this process, our two countries could set both the tone and the pace.

The history of our two nations, Your Majesty, illustrates how, over thousands of years, our peoples have lived in peace and amity, and have shared common values. This is perhaps a unique example in history. Even if at times there have been some differences of perspectives, the fundamental friendship and respect between our two nations have withstood the test of time. This is the relationship that we hope to nurture and strengthen as partners in the challenging task of promoting economic development and social justice. In the attainment of these ideals, we feel deeply grateful to have the fullest support of Your Majesty.

India and Lebanon

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to India as the Ambassador of the Republic of Lebanon.

We had been watching with great anxiety the armed conflict which had once again broken out in West Asia. The Government of India's point of view on the Arab-Israeli conflict has been made clear and we continue to hold steadfastly to that view. No country can be allowed to benefit from aggression. The legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be safeguarded. We hope and trust that these basic principles will be realised in any new settlement which may be arrived at.

Many things have changed since you were last here. But you will notice that there is no slackening in our efforts to achieve the economic betterment of our people, the preservation and extension of our secular democracy and the achievement of full social and economic justice for all. In our external relations, we stand for friendship with all countries which respond to this wish of ours, for the genuine independence of all countries, big and small, and for enduring world peace based on international justice. These are the aims we have worked for since our independence a quarter century ago and they continue to guide us in our strivings. Difficulties, both internal and

Speech accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Lebanon Mr. Mahmoud Hafez, New Delhi, October 26, 1973

external, have come in our way, but we continue to make progress towards the achievement of these objectives.

Lebanon and India are bound together by very close and friendly ties as well as by shared ideals and aspirations. It is our ardent desire and settled policy to develop to the maximum extent our relations with Lebanon in all fields. Please be assured of my complete support and the full co-operation of my Government in your efforts to strengthen the ties between our countries to our mutual benefit.

India and Syria

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to India as the Ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Your country has just emerged from a fiery ordeal in which the people of Syria again demonstrated their unflinching courage and iron determination. We watched the course of the recent conflict in West Asia with great anxiety. Our sympathies were, and continue to be, entirely with the Arabs in this struggle. We trust and hope that the cessation of fighting will be followed by a just settlement which would ensure the liberation of Arab territory from alien occupation and achieve the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

Relations between Syria and India are as old as history; both our countries have been the cradles of civilisation, and our contacts, begun in those distant times, have continued till today. It is our ardent wish to strengthen the relations between the two countries in all spheres. Therefore, Mr. Ambassador, in your efforts to bring our two countries closer together, you will have my complete support and the whole-hearted co-operation of my Government.

India and Korea

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to India.

You have rightly referred to the age-old cultural and friendly ties existing between our two countries. In recent years, since India's independence in 1947, India has been closely associated with your country. In 1962, we established consular relations and the culmination of these growing ties came recently when we raised the level of our Missions in each others' capital to the Embassy level. This is an important land-mark in the relations between our two countries and I have no doubt that it would contribute to the further strengthening of ties and all-sided relationship between our two countries and peoples.

We have watched with great interest and admiration the rapid strides made by your country in various fields in the last decade. I am happy to note that in the last few years' trade relations between our two countries have made noticeable progress. It has gone to prove how our economies can be complementary and how we can benefit by each others' progress and development. It is indeed an expression of this growing closeness of relations between our two countries that many important dignitaries and delegations have exchanged visits in recent years.

In India, too, we are concentrating our energies on removing the backwardness and poverty in the country and on creating a modern industrialised country, as you have been doing in your country. In this we face a formidable task, but we have no doubt that we would be able to achieve our objective and overcome the difficulties that come in the way.

Your Excellency has referred to the desire of the Korean people to bring about the peaceful re-unification of the country. We welcome all efforts directed towards the peaceful re-unification of the two Koreas through bilateral talks and we hope that these efforts will be crowned with success.

India and Jordan

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you to India as Ambassador of Jordan.

I fully reciprocate the sentiments expressed you about the friendly and cordial relations between Jordan and India. It is our desire to strengthen these ties even further and I would like to assure you of the fullest co-operation of my Government in your efforts to achieve this.

As you have mentioned, India has consistently supported the Arab people in their struggle for justice. This support is based on our deep faith in certain principles of international conduct and our ancient ties of friendship with the Arab people. It is our sincerest wish that a just and lasting peace may soon be established in West Asia, based on Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories she occupies illegally, and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

India and Oman

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman to India. I wish you a pleasant, interesting and fruitful sojourn in this country and all success in your mission.

Mr. Ambassador, the ties between Oman and India are as old as history itself. The Arabian Sea that washes the shores of both Oman and India has served as a highway of contact and understanding between our two countries. From times immemorial, mariners and traders, men of religion and votaries of learning were constantly traversing this narrow sea. The fellow-feeling which was thus engendered in these distant days persists and has been further strengthened during recent years. Today, travellers and traders, technicians and experts, diplomats and national leaders from each

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Jordan, Mr. Wajith Al-Kalyani, New Delhi, March 21, 1974

Speech accepting the credentials from the first Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman, Mr. Ali Mohammad al Jamali, New Delhi, April 2, 1974

country visit the other in growing numbers; the co-operation between our two countries has grown in all fields to our mutual benefit; both our countries are dedicated to the economic, social and cultural advancement of our citizens; both are non-aligned countries and wish to pursue independent policies best suited to the culture, genius and interest of our peoples. There is thus much that binds our two countries together and it is our ardent desire not only to maintain, but to expand significantly the friendship and co-operation between our two countries in all fields. Please be assured of my complete support and the whole-hearted co-operation of my Government in your efforts in this direction.

India and Saudi Arabia

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to India as the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. You are an old friend having spent many years here. You know our country well. We are delighted to have you back in our midst.

We cherish our friendly relations with the Arab countries and have constantly endeavoured to strengthen them further. It is our belief that a durable peace cannot be established in West Asia without the vacation of the Israeli aggression on the Arab lands and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians. We shall continue to support this just cause.

Relations between Saudi Arabia and India too have a long history and we wish to strengthen further the ties between our two countries. Mr. Ambassador, please be assured of our whole-hearted co-operation in your efforts in this direction.

India and Qatar

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador of the State of Qatar to India. Your appointment is a further indication of our common desire to strengthen the traditional friendly relations between our two peoples. You may be assured of our whole-hearted co-operation and support in your efforts in this direction.

You mentioned India's support of the Arab cause. This support is firm and constant because it is based on the justice of the Arab cause and on our long-standing friendship with the Arab people.

We have watched with great interest the progress being made by your country under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani.

May I request you Mr. Ambassador to convey to His Highness my greetings and our good wishes for his personal well-being and for the progress and prosperity of the friendly people of Qatar?

India and Norway

I AM HAPPY to welcome you to India as Ambassador of a country with which we have close and friendly relations. Although physically far away, Norway's interest in India has not been any less for that reason. In many areas of our national endeavour, Norway has been a valued partner. Some of your significant contributions to our development you have yourself recalled. I note with pride that Indo-Norwegian joint ventures have proved successful. This encourages us to think of extending this co-operation with you to new fields in the future. Such co-operation, with its deep social and economic implications, is the surest way of strengthening international peace and understanding. For us, Norway is a tried and reliable friend.

You have been good enough to refer to the spiritual and human values that we cherish. Never before in the long history of this

Speech accepting the credentials from the new Ambassador of Qatar.
Mr. Shareedah Sa'ad Jibran, New Delhi, June 24, 1974

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new Ambassador of Norway.
Mr. T. K. Christiansen, New Delhi, January 20, 1972

sub-continent were these values put to so severe a test as last year when the basic human urge for freedom of 75 million people across our eastern borders was gravely threatened. India had, in consequence, to give shelter, at dire cost to herself, to 10 million refugees who had fled from ruthless terror and military repression. While we are grateful for the humanitarian aid which many countries, and notably yours, have so generously given, the burden basically had to be borne by the people of India and they did so willingly with faith in the values that have sustained our society.

Now that the war, which we tried so hard to avoid, is over, we are earnestly searching for a durable peace in the sub-continent, based on the fundamental rights of all its peoples to live in peace and harmony. That peace cannot ignore the new reality of Bangladesh which has emerged from the ashes of its own sufferings and sacrifices. We do not seek any material gains from those who fought us but we do ask them to turn this sub-continent into an area of peace, friendship and mutual understanding. It is essential for the peace and stability of the sub-continent that the newly emerged sovereign state of Bangladesh be recognised by all nations of the world, and the sooner the better.

We value our relations with Norway, and we hope that these will grow more secure and stronger during your tenure of office as Ambassador of Norway to India. I assure you of the fullest co-operation of my Government in the discharge of your responsibilities.

India and the USSR

WE HAVE GATHERED here today to celebrate the completion of 25 years of close and friendly diplomatic relations between India and the USSR. On this auspicious Silver Jubilee, it is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us that the friendship and co-operation between the Governments and the peoples of our two great countries have developed in a most positive manner, over these years, in all spheres of mutual interest.

Indo-Soviet friendship is deeply rooted in the shared values and aspirations of our two peoples and their desire to build a better life

Speech inaugurating the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between India and the Soviet Union, New Delhi, April 13, 1972

for themselves and for the future generations. Although diplomatic contacts between our countries have been only over a limited span of 25 years, actual contacts date back to many centuries. The name of the distinguished Russian traveller, Afanasi Nikiton, who visited India more than 500 years ago, is known to all of you. Similarly, the evidence of prosperous Indian settlements which flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries in Russian Astrakhan, goes to show the closeness which had developed even then. The movement of merchants, travellers and scholars, which was a continuous process, contributed to this mutually beneficial exchange. It is of special interest that Khoja Hussain, an emissary of Emperor Babur's Court, had gone to Moscow in the 16th century with a draft Treaty of "Brotherhood and Friendship". But due to Emperor Babur's sudden death, the mission had returned after the conclusion of a trade agreement. Prominent Russian scholars around this time and subsequently during the 18th century, had urged closer contacts between the two countries. The eventual establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the USSR in 1947, after India's independence was, therefore, only a logical development of those trends which could not be realised earlier due to India having been under foreign rule.

The Great October Revolution under the indomitable leadership of Lenin fired the imagination of many Indian nationalists and inspired them in their struggle for India's independence. It was Lenin who had described India as the "Citadel of the Revolution of the Orient". The independence movement in India had followed the pattern of peaceful and non-violent development under Mahatma Gandhi. However, the interest to learn from the Soviet example remained. Jawaharlal Nehru declared after his visit to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1927: "Russia interests us because it may help us to find some solution for the great problems which face the world today. It interests us specially because conditions there have not been and are not even now, very dissimilar to conditions in India. Both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginning of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier". Events have proved the swift progress of the Soviet Union in solving her problems and we in India are engaged today in the same task in our own land. In fact, our close friendship with the Soviet Union is based on the recognition of the mutual benefit that not only our two countries, but the world in general, derives as a result of meaningful co-operation between our two countries.

India and the USSR have held similar views on many issues of

international importance. And whenever there has been a difference of emphasis, there has also been an understanding of each other's point of view. Indo-Soviet friendship in this sense constitutes an example of how the friendliest and most fruitful co-operation can develop between two countries with different social and political systems, to the maximum advantage of both.

In the UN and other international organisations also, India and the Soviet Union have worked together in the interest of peace and stability. We have always held that strict observance of the principles of the United Nations, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty of all nations, renunciation of force as a means of settling disputes—are essential attributes in the relations among members of the comity of nations. Both India and the Soviet Union have been firmly and consistently opposed to all forms of racialism, colonialism and imperialism. We have always supported the rights of all nations to safeguard their independence.

The identity of approach of India and the Soviet Union to national liberation movements was recently emphasised by the Principled stand taken by our two countries against the brutal oppression of the freedom loving people of Bangladesh at a time when many countries remained indifferent to the agony of an entire people. The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent, democratic, secular and socialist country may be expected to contribute significantly towards strengthening peace and stability in the sub-continent.

As far as economic collaboration and trade between India and the Soviet Union are concerned, this co-operation has been most beneficial to both of us. The Soviet Union occupies a prominent place amongst the fields in which Indo-Soviet economic co-operation has our goal for economic development. The signing of the Bhilai agreement in 1955 marked the beginning of an era of highly fruitful economic co-operation. The Soviet Union has also helped in the vital task of building the infra-structure of our heavy industry. Steel, heavy electricals, machine building, oil prospecting and refining are amongst the fields in which Indo-Soviet economic co-operation has proved most fruitful. As far as trade is concerned, there has been a spectacular increase over the last 20 years and today the Soviet Union is one of India's leading trade partners.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, signed in August last year, is a significant land-mark in the growing co-operation and friendship between our two countries. It was an expression of our mutual desire to develop our co-operation to the maximum extent for the purpose of economic and social progress and for safeguarding peace and security. It is but natural that the signing

of the Treaty is regarded as an outstanding historic event. The Treaty which corresponds to the basic interests of our two countries will, no doubt, make a further contribution to the raising of our fruitful co-operation to still higher levels.

In conclusion, I may express my profound confidence that Indo-Soviet friendship will continue to grow even further in the future, to the mutual benefit of our two countries as also in the interests of peace, progress and stability in the world. I take this opportunity of conveying sincere greetings on behalf of the people of India to the people of the Soviet Union for their greater happiness, welfare and prosperity and still more resounding successes in their task of national construction in the years to come.

India and Bulgaria

WE ARE GATHERED here today to pay our homage to an outstanding figure of the international workers' movement. A brave fighter and an untiring organiser, Georgi Dimitrov's life was a saga of courage and dedication. He was a dauntless champion of the working class and all his life he spent in defending the vital interests of the common people. He came on the political scene in Bulgaria during the First World War as an active participant of the revolutionary trade union movement. The military—fascist coup which came to power in 1923 in Bulgaria exiled him from his native soil and he was forced to spend the next 22 years outside his country. It was a period of intense activity devoted to the liberation of his beloved motherland from the oppressive rule of despots. At the same time, he took a leading part in the international workers' movement and in the anti-fascist movement that was taking shape at that time. He was a leading light at the Second Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League in 1929. He inevitably came into conflict with the evil forces of Hitlerism and in 1933 the Nazis framed him up as an accomplice in setting fire to the Reichstag. This trial shook the conscience of the world and his fame as an outstanding fighter for the cause of human freedom spread through the world. We all remember vividly what a deep impression that Dimitrov created in our minds at that

Speech inaugurating the 90th birth anniversary celebration of Georgi Dimitrov, New Delhi, June 17, 1972

time by his indomitable courage and defiance. He was one of the earliest to perceive the danger to human freedom from the rise of Fascism and Nazism and he devoted all his energy to freeing the world from this bondage. After Bulgaria's liberation, Dimitrov returned to his country as its acknowledged leader. He became the Prime Minister and devoted his last years to the reconstruction of his liberated country.

Two years ago, I had the privilege of paying a State Visit to Bulgaria and see for myself the progress made by this friendly and hospitable people. My visit to the mausoleum where the mortal remains of Dimitrov are preserved will always remain with me a cherished memory. The body is preserved so well that one gets the feeling that Dimitrov is still living and inspiring his people. It is an inspiration to see the great figure and watch the homage paid to him by thousands of people. With courage and energy, the people of Bulgaria are building a progressive and vibrant republic dedicated to social justice at home and peace abroad. These ideals find an echo in our own situation and therefore our appreciation for their progress is all the more greater.

On this occasion, I would like to say a few words on the progress made by agricultural farms in Bulgaria. Other East European countries also have made notable progress in co-operative agricultural ventures. In our country too, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's vision was to develop agricultural co-operatives throughout the length and breadth of the country so that we could achieve the twin objective of preventing fragmentation and sub-division of land and equally utilise the most modern techniques in the field of agriculture.

While I believe in the importance of key and big industries, I am convinced that only by a massive development of agro-industries we can solve the problem of poverty and unemployment. An employment-oriented agro-industrial programme can fully absorb local skills and raw materials. By affording work to all and making conditions of work congenial to the human spirit we can add significantly to the sum total of man's happiness. In this quest for a better life for our people, the memory of the life work of great men like Dimitrov will always be an inspiration.

India and France

I AM GLAD to extend to you a warm welcome as the Ambassador of France to the Republic of India. You represent a country which is vastly admired in India for its greatness, its culture, its nobility and its distinctive contributions to civilization. The world is indebted to France for her political philosophy and concept of social equilibrium based on justice and equity which gave a rational direction to the political evolution of modern States. Many, indeed, look to France as the path-finder for a new international social order which would take us beyond the limited confines of current loyalties and antagonisms.

You will note that there is a special warmth in our relations with France. These relations are marked by harmonious co-operation, by deep understanding and friendship and by mutual respect and confidence. On either side, there is a sincere desire to understand and appreciate the point of view and interests of the other and to build our relations on the basis of mutuality, guided always by the overriding importance of promoting peace and co-operation. On many great world issues we tend to take a similar if not identical stand. There is in both our peoples a shared concern for civilized values and for upholding the dignity and spirituality of man. You have rightly remarked that our common attachment to the principles of democracy, justice and liberty has been conducive to the development of a friendly *entente* and understanding between us.

It is a matter of gratification to us that France has helped India's entry into the technological age in some vital sectors. Much more, however, remains to be done in these and other fields and we do look forward to a significant increase in our trade and economic co-operation with France and with the Community of which France is a leading member. The success of our co-operation should set the pattern for similar co-operation between the developed and developing countries of the world.

We wish you success in your mission in this country—a mission of peace, co-operation and friendship and do assure that you will have at all times the fullest co-operation of my Government in the pursuit and fulfilment of your tasks. We would gladly welcome the help and co-operation which you so generously offer to bring about a return of concord and stability in the sub-continent. We hope that through your efforts Indo-French co-operation will attain new heights of

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of France, Mr. Jean Jurgensen, New Delhi, October 30, 1972

achievement and that our two countries will further concert their efforts for the good of our peoples.

We thank you sincerely for the warm good wishes which you have brought us from the President of your great Republic and will be glad if you convey to him our thanks and respectful greetings as well as our good wishes for his health and well being and for the people of France.

India and the German Democratic Republic

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the German Democratic Republic to India. I would also like to reciprocate the good wishes conveyed by you on behalf of His Excellency, Mr. Walter Ulbricht, Chief of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

Our relations with the German Democratic Republic have always been close and friendly. We are confident that the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries will further strengthen our mutually beneficial relations in all fields.

The German Democratic Republic has always shown great understanding and friendship towards India and during the difficult period in the sub-continent last year had taken a firm and principled stand. We deeply appreciate this.

On our own part we have followed with keen interest the various initiatives taken in Europe directed towards promoting *detente* and constructive co-operation amongst all European States. The diplomatic relations between India and the German Democratic Republic not only meet the interests of our two countries, but also make a positive contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security.

In the economic field, the collaboration between our two countries has been growing steadily and it is our earnest hope that this will be further strengthened in the years to come, particularly in regard to technological co-operation.

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Herbert Fischer, New Delhi, October 31, 1972

Your Excellency is not new to our country. We are aware of your deep and abiding interest in India and the many years you have earlier spent in our country in various capacities. We have no doubt that you will spare no effort to ensure that friendship and fruitful co-operation between India and the German Democratic Republic will be further strengthened in all areas. We may assure you on our part of all help and assistance to make this possible.

I wish Your Excellency a pleasant and successful stay in our country.

India and Denmark

I WELCOME YOU as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Denmark to India.

You have rightly emphasized the common adherence of our two countries to democracy, peace and international understanding. During your stay in India you will see something of our efforts to give practical content to our social ideals and, more particularly, towards removing poverty and social injustice. We have still a long way to go on this arduous road. But we are deeply appreciative of all those friendly countries, like Denmark, who have extended to us sympathy and support in the fulfilment of our socio-economic goals within our democratic framework. Indeed, we highly value Denmark's contribution to our national endeavour for economic advancement and look forward to extending the areas of our mutual co-operation.

I should like particularly to mention the understanding and support we received from Denmark during the difficult days of 1971 when 10 million refugees from Bangladesh had taken refuge in India. This has brought Denmark closer to our hearts.

The recent visit of His Excellency Mr. K. B. Anderson, Foreign Minister of Denmark, to India has further strengthened our understanding, friendship and co-operation. We benefited from our talks with him and regard his visit to us as an important milestone in our growing relations.

I wish you a very successful mission in this country, and assure you that you will have at all times the fullest co-operation of my

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Denmark, Mr. Henning Halet, New Delhi, January 9, 1973

Government in the pursuit and fulfilment of your tasks. May I ask you to convey my respectful greetings and good wishes to Her Majesty Queen Margrethe of Denmark.

India and Hungary

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you to India. Diplomatic relations between India and Hungary were established seventeen years ago. In these years, we have noted with satisfaction the steady growth of friendship and understanding between our two countries. We are happy that the areas of fruitful bilateral co-operation between India and Hungary have enlarged. We are confident that the future holds out still brighter prospect for meaningful co-operation between us to our mutual benefit in many fields.

Hungary and India are dedicated to peace and friendship among nations. We share the conviction that relations between countries should be based on principles of peaceful co-existence, co-operation, equality and mutual benefit. Both our countries are firmly opposed to imperialism, colonialism and racism, in all their manifestations. Our shared ideals had given us the determination to meet the challenges with which we were confronted in this sub-continent during 1971. We are convinced that the problems of the sub-continent can and should be solved on the basis of equality without outside interference. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that the Hungarian Government had shown full understanding of the situation. We sincerely appreciate the principled support you had extended to us.

The warmth of the friendship between India and Hungary is well-known. I had myself personally experienced this in 1970 when I visited your beautiful country. More recently, in June, 1972, our Prime Minister had paid an official visit to Hungary and brought back with her lasting impressions of the life and creative work of the Hungarian people and of their achievements in building a better life for themselves.

I am confident that during your tenure the friendly relations between our two countries will be further strengthened. I wish you a pleasant and successful stay and assure you of all help and assistance on our part.

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Hungary, Mr. Ferenc Turi, New Delhi, January 18, 1973

India and the Netherlands

I WELCOME YOU to India. We put great value on our ties of friendship and co-operation with the Netherlands. I am confident that during your tenure as the Netherlands' Ambassador to India these will be further strengthened.

We have had severe drought conditions in parts of our country, and you, Mr. Ambassador, have very kindly referred to them. We are doing everything possible to combat these unnatural conditions and to mitigate the hardships of our people. We appreciate your concern for the drought affected people, but have no doubt that we shall overcome this further misfortune with fortitude and sacrifice so characteristic of our nation.

Our relations with the Netherlands have been very good. We would like them to evolve further in friendship and co-operation and to develop healthy traditions. As you say, we in this Republic face problems of great magnitude. Indeed this calls for great endeavours and sacrifices of our people which they are constantly making. However, we face and overcome our problems not in any narrow national spirit but with the goodwill and co-operation of the world. In this we particularly welcome the co-operation of your country.

I request you, Mr. Ambassador, to convey to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands my sincere good wishes for her health and happiness and for the continued well-being and prosperity of the friendly people of your country.

India and Romania

I AM DEEPLY grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind and generous words of welcome, reflecting the cordiality, friendship and understanding which distinguish the relations between our two countries in all fields. Ever since our arrival in Bucharest we have been showered with kindness and courtesy by everyone with whom we

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of the Netherlands
Mr. Tjark Asueer Meurs, New Delhi, June 8, 1973

Speech at the banquet given in his honour by President Ceausescu of Romania,
Bucharest, October 3, 1973

have come into contact. I consider the words you have spoken as an expression of the sentiments of a good friend. We in India recall with great pleasure Your Excellency's visit to our country in 1969. I also remember our personal meeting in Persepolis when you had renewed your invitation to me to visit Romania. It gives me genuine pleasure to be here, in this beautiful land of the picturesque Danube Valley and the lofty Carpathian mountains inhabited, from times immemorial, by a diligent and talented people.

Ever since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, we have co-operated fully in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields to the mutual benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace and security of the world as a whole. The visit of our Prime Minister to Romania in 1967, followed by Your Excellency's visit to our country in 1969, contributed greatly towards further strengthening of these ties of friendship and co-operation. However, there are still many new areas to be explored, particularly in regard to economic and scientific collaboration between India and Romania. I am, therefore, happy to note that the economic Ministries of our two Governments have held intensive discussions with a view to establishing long-term economic co-operation for the mutual benefit of our two countries.

The radical transformation in Romania's economic and social life which has been achieved in a comparatively short span of time, after the devastation of the second World War, is truly impressive. We are aware of the significant personal contribution made by Your Excellency's dynamic leadership in bringing about the accelerated development of the economy and all-round betterment of living standards of the broad masses of your people.

India is also bending every effort to achieve economic and social transformation of her society and put an end to the inequalities and insufficiencies which had been inherited from colonial times. In this struggle we have been greatly heartened by the example as well as the understanding and sympathy of countries like Romania.

Both our Governments and peoples are sincerely dedicated to peace. The principles which guide Romania's foreign policy, namely, national sovereignty and independence, full and equal rights for all States, the inalienable right of every people to choose their own political, economic and social systems, non-interference in internal affairs, mutuality of benefit, and refraining from the use of threat of force in relations between States, are basically the same as the principles of *Panch Sheel*, to which India has consistently subscribed and which were endorsed by the Bandung Conference of 1955. In those early years, these principles had been considered

as Utopian by many. However, during the last few years, the world community as a whole, including the Big Powers, have come to realise that there is no other alternative to the development of international relations amongst States, except on the basis of peaceful co-existence. The world today is increasingly inter-dependent and no nation can remain apart and go it alone. Peace as well as prosperity are accepted as indivisible. The growing *detente*, which we witness on a global scale, and the improvement registered in the political atmosphere in the European Continent—a Continent which had earlier witnessed two devastating World Wars—is, therefore, welcomed by us, particularly since it helps to reduce the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

However, despite these positive developments, there are hot beds of tension still left in some areas of the world. Peace has not yet been fully restored in Indo-China, and the crisis in the Middle East continues unmitigated. It is in this context that we attach special significance to the recent Non-Aligned Summit meeting in Algiers where nearly 80 Heads of Government had assembled to assert their rights to participate, on an equal footing, in the solution of world problems. As our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, stated in Algiers :

“We must speak for those whose numbers are large but whose voice is muted. Their claim to a just share of worldly goods, their right to a life of dignity, is indisputable and cannot be resisted. The past will inspire us but it is the needs of the present and the challenge of the future which are the driving force for our united action. We are responsible not to our individual countries alone, but to the peace and prosperity of the whole world”.

In our own part of the world, we are consistently striving to clear old suspicions, to establish durable peace and to promote understanding and co-operation amongst the countries of the Indian Sub-Continent. I am glad to say that, recently, we have been able to conclude an Agreement with Pakistan in August this year for solving the humanitarian problems resulting from the 1971 conflict. This Agreement, following the Agreement concluded in Simla in July 1972, holds out the hope that peace and stability can be found for over 700 million peoples of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. We shall resolutely continue our efforts and our initiatives at developing ties of friendship with all our neighbours, guided by the principles of *Panch Sheel*.

In the international arena, India stands pledged together with other like-minded countries to carry on the struggle to ensure that

weapons of mass destruction will eventually be eliminated and that the resources hitherto spent on these weapons can be diverted for constructive purposes so as to bring dignity to the lives of the millions of under-privileged peoples in the world. We must ensure that every country has a say in decisions which affect its national interests. The persistence of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in the world is of special concern to all of us. It is only when these remaining injustices are removed that the world can look forward to a genuine era of peace, progress and prosperity.

India and Czechoslovakia

I DEEM IT a great honour to be here today to receive the Degree of Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) which the University of Bratislava has been pleased to confer on me. I look at it as a measure of the esteem in which my country is held by the Government and people of Czechoslovakia. Yours is a renowned institution, a seat of learning in a country which was one of the first in this part of the world to foster education at the university level. An occasion of this kind represents a meaningful trend towards the promotion of goodwill among nations. It is indeed one more instance of several measures undertaken to spread international understanding.

As I stand before you here today, I cannot help dwelling, at the very outset, upon the close and friendly relations which have existed between your country and mine during the past two decades and more. The similarity in our approach to many matters affecting national and international life has brought both our countries closer to each other and resulted in fruitful mutual collaboration in several areas of activity. It is a piece of good fortune that as between our two countries there have been no problems and, as a result, our relations have witnessed a natural and unencumbered growth.

We in India have, through the years, watched with admiration the patriotic spirit of the people of your country and your outstanding achievements in several fields of human endeavour. Addressing as I do today a distinguished gathering of academicians, I would refer to the climate of liberal culture that pervades your land, a climate which has been admirably captured by your writers and musicians

Speech while receiving the Degree of Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) at the University of Bratislava, October 8, 1973

whose productions have a universal appeal. The works of your men of letters vividly portray the romantic background with which nature has endowed your landscape. Your music has added an extra dimension to this colourful setting. It is no wonder then that the early forms of theatre arose from your clime. Popular forms of art like the puppet theatre have also flourished and like the lyrical works and patriotic songs in your musical tradition, they have won the approbation of the world. With a tradition such as this, it is inevitable that your national effort has been directed to the pursuit of excellence and beauty and in achieving impressive strides in fields as diverse as architecture and cinematography, science and painting, art and photography. The progress you have registered in the realm of science has been fortified by your mastery in the crafts. Your advances in glass technology are an illustration in point. The headway you have made in industry is no less significant.

In the field of Oriental Studies, too, your country has played a leading role. One of the oldest Indian treaties, the *Buddhacharita* was translated into the Czech language as early as in the 14th Century. Since then the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which are the major and central Epics of our land, as well as numerous plays, novels and poems have been translated and interpreted by Czech and Slovak scholars, including the complete works of Rabindranath Tagore. Professor Lesny, a leading Indologist, had rightly commented on the affinity between the souls of the Czechoslovak and Indian peoples which he said constitutes a very special link.

This premier university, now more than half a century old, which is honouring me today, itself has been enshrined in legend, story and song. From small beginnings, I am delighted to know, the university has grown and expanded, and today prides itself on several faculties to which many prominent scholars from all over the globe are drawn. It has taken its name after the reputed educationist, Jan Amos Comenius. An idealist of the finest vintage, Comenius dreamt of ushering in a just society through the medium of education.

It is but a truism to say that universities can make a significant contribution to world peace. As their very name implies, universities are suited for fostering an active appreciation and understanding of diverse cultures. In the world of letters, science, art and music, there cannot exist any effective national boundaries. Through the work of universities, we can widen the citizenship in this world republic of arts and science. The programme of education for world citizenship should be made a part of every person's general education. Universities must make provision for the study of the different aspects of international affairs, such as the nature and development of other civilizations and cultures, nationalism in its relation to

internationalism. Each nation will have to contribute its own genius to the cultural riches of the world. Here, there is a field of free give and take, uninhibited by any prejudice or bias.

One of the main purposes of university education is, without doubt, the pursuit of excellence in the attainment of knowledge. Dissemination of learning, incessant search for new knowledge, unceasing effort to plumb the meaning of life, provision for professional education to satisfy the occupational needs of society are the vital tasks of higher education. Institutions of higher learning should promote the spirit of free, unfettered, intellectual inquiry and act as the generator and the proving ground of ideas, and as the agent which ensures that valuable ideas gain currency. In the modern context where horizons are widening and knowledge is expanding at a rapid pace, those who teach at the universities have to bear in mind that their task is not merely to communicate knowledge, but to create it and provide an environment in which the quest for more knowledge flourishes. The teachers must enable their students to use their creative imagination and facilitate the diffusion of their ideas so that these ideas may be open to challenge and be either accepted or rejected.

In addition to the pursuit of learning and serving as the vanguard of the march of knowledge, institutions of higher education have a further important function in the present day world, which is of particular relevance to developing countries. Intellectual activity which should be the dominant factor in university life would be self-defeating if it is divorced from the troubles and tribulations to which the community outside its portals is exposed. The blessings of enlightenment received by the educated few, to have enduring value, should embrace the welfare of the society around and lift it to "an ampler ether, a diviner air". This is true within the compass of a developing society and it is equally applicable to life at the international level, where the earlier barriers are fast breaking down and educational and cultural exchange between various countries is becoming the order of the day.

At this point, it is with considerable gratification that I take note of the cultural and scientific exchange programmes between our two countries. We have freely drawn from the resources of your country and, in return, we have been trying to make available to you something of what we consider as valuable from our side. The Indo-Czech exchanges cover many crucial sectors but, I shall, on this occasion, confine myself to those which apply to the fields of science and culture. Since 1966, we have collaborated in science and technology, following an Agreement signed between the Indian

Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. There has been a continuous exchange of scientists and information and mutual co-operation in the organisation of scientific research and participation in scientific gatherings. Culture is another sphere where both our countries have happily collaborated in an easy and natural partnership.

Ever since India attained independence in 1947, it has been the consistent aim of our Government to increase and diversify opportunities for education, including higher education, so that they may come within the reach of the masses. We are determined to create facilities in which every person can, according to his needs and ability, legitimately aspire to specialise in the field of his choice. In 1950, we had over 231,000 schools, 27 universities and 595 colleges in the entire country. Today, we have over 532,000 schools, 86 universities and 3,635 colleges. However, despite this, keeping in view the size of our country and her growing population, there still remains a great deal more to be done.

As a Trade Unionist myself and as a political worker familiar with the appalling conditions of ignorance and poverty in which a sizeable number of our people live, it has always been my earnest hope that each and every worker and peasant is ensured the possibility of a full education, so that they, in their turn are enabled to play their due role in the political, economic and social life of the country.

We, in India, are inheritors of a civilization and culture which have a message for all humanity. The Buddha and, more recently, Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised the religion of humanism. I myself have tried in my humble way to adhere to this religion, because I believe that this is the light that never fails. If the world of today has to survive the tensions, the jealousies and the conflicts, and to evolve a new order in which there will be no exploitation of any kind of man by man, we have to insist on a strict adherence to the two cardinal principles of truth and love of humanity. It is no use merely talking of peace; we must work for conditions which make for peace.

I once again wish to express my appreciation for the signal honour you have done me. I hope that this University will grow still further in stature in the years ahead and reach out to new vistas and horizons of achievement. May it always contribute its rightful share in kindling ever new sparks to light the path of Man in his march into the future!

Let me conclude with a prayer from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, which sums up the aspirations of mankind in the search for knowledge through the ages :—

Asato Ma Sathgamaya

Tamaso Ma Jyotirgamaya

Mrityor Ma Amritam Gamaya.

(From the untruth lead us to the truth

From darkness lead us to light

From death lead us to immortality.)

India and Ireland

I AM HAPPY to welcome you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Ireland with which we in India have a long and sentimental connection.

You have referred to the European Community of which your country is now a distinguished member. The enlargement of the Community is indeed a development of importance for the world. It is of special significance to us inasmuch as it could affect our external trade for better or worse. We hope that your influence in Brussels will give the Community a broad liberal outlook specially in its dealings with the developing nations. We also hope that the Commercial Co-operation Agreement now under negotiation between India and the Community will lead to a mutually satisfactory agreement and contribute towards securing sufficient trade expansion for India.

I have fond memories of my years of stay in Ireland to which you have kindly alluded. It was a privilege for me to have worked with and to have known some of your illustrious leaders. I received my early training in politics and labour in your great country.

I wish you, Mr. Ambassador, every success in your assignment in India and assure you of my Government's fullest co-operation and support in the performance of your duties. Please convey to His Excellency Mr. Erskine Hamilton Childers, the President of the Republic of Ireland, my sincere good wishes for his personal health and happiness and for the people of Ireland.

Speech at the presentation of credentials by the Ambassador-designate of Ireland, Mr. Denis Abel Holmes, New Delhi, November 1, 1973

Vision of a New World

WE ARE GATHERED today to confer on a great and good friend of India the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, perhaps the highest honour which our country has to offer to a world citizen. Our distinguished guest, President Tito, is the sagacious leader of a dynamic people and in conferring on him this honour we are paying our homage to the noble ideals for which he has dedicated his life. His name has become synonymous with indomitable will, courageous statesmanship and sustained revolutionary fervour.

There could not be a more appropriate choice for the Nehru Award than Marshal Tito. Both these great men were cast in a heroic mould and the same spirit actuated them—selfless service to the down-trodden, undaunted courage to oppose exploitation and unwavering determination to build both a new nation and a new world. Both faced similar situations—political subjugation, economic backwardness, social disruption. And both gave a galvanising lead to their countrymen to win freedom from alien control, to create conditions for a better way of life for their peoples, and to achieve national integration. Similar struggles and experiences naturally led to similar viewpoints on the international situation. Thus, came about concepts like non-alignment, peaceful co-existence—concepts which form a beacon-light to guide the uncommitted nations of the world towards the goal of peace and prosperity. The triumvirate of Tito, Nasser and Nehru bestowed on the under-privileged of this earth the vision of a world without war, a world without want and gave the peoples the will to translate this vision into reality, the zeal to work for raising living standards and the sense of universal brotherhood which alone can surmount the perils of a nuclear age.

There was a time when the concept of non-alignment was not liked by mighty nations of the world. But, today, sanity has spread and peaceful co-existence has found increasing acceptance. The countries of the Third World under the far-sighted guidance of Nehru and Tito, have played their own role in promoting *detente* in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that these leaders have exerted a major influence in pulling back the world from the brink of a precipice and their names will live as long as civilised values are respected.

President Tito is no stranger to our country. The close and enduring bonds forged over the years endear him and the Yugoslav

Speech while giving away the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to President Tito, New Delhi, January 25, 1974

people to us. We greet him with affection and respect as we confer on him the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for 1971.

India and Yugoslavia

INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, bound together by the common ideals of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems, have tirelessly strived against the division of the world into antagonistic blocs. Together, we have raised our voices against armed aggression, imperialism, racialism and colonialism. Both our countries have steadfastly tried to promote international understanding and co-operation based on the principle of sovereign equality of all States. Our common policy in the international field, based on principles of peaceful co-existence had often been belittled in the past. Today this policy has been vindicated by the increasing relaxation of international tensions and the development of *detente* in large areas of the world. This atmosphere of international *detente* has, in no small measure, resulted from the common actions and policies followed by the non-aligned countries.

While welcoming this development, we cannot but record our concern at the continued existence of tensions and conflicts in certain parts of the world. We must also express our anxiety at the growing division of the world between the poor and the rich nations, a division which, if allowed to persist or to increase, will be fraught with serious consequences for the world as a whole. In these circumstances, we are convinced that the role of non-aligned countries has become all the more relevant whether in the task of safeguarding of the independence and sovereignty of smaller countries, or of narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor nations or of ensuring that every country, irrespective of whether it is powerful or weak, will have a voice in matters affecting its own national interests.

We, in India, have welcomed the growing development of *detente* and co-operation in Europe and the role played by Yugoslavia in this process. We particularly appreciate the role played by Yugoslavia in advising the developed countries of Europe not to form an exclusive rich-man's club and turn their back on the vast majority of humanity.

Speech at the Dinner given in honour of President Tito, New Delhi, January 25, 1974

On our own part, we have constantly worked to normalise relations among the countries of the Indian sub-continent and bring about a durable peace. We shall resolutely continue to bend our efforts towards achieving this objective and our hand of friendship is stretched out to all countries, whatever past differences we may have had with some of them. In this regard, we are extremely thankful for the understanding and support extended by Yugoslavia.

The situation in West Asia continues to be a source of concern to the entire international community. We firmly believe that the only solution to the problem is the faithful and complete implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution on the subject. While noting some recent positive development in this regard, we are convinced that so long the occupied Arab lands are not vacated by Israel and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people remain unfulfilled, there can be no lasting peace in that region. In this context the non-aligned countries have an important role to play in the joint endeavour which is necessary to bring about a just and durable peace in West Asia. Your Excellency personally and the Yugoslav Government have already made a significant contribution towards this objective by helping to mobilise international opinion in this direction.

The Non-aligned movement today has gathered great momentum and has been universally acknowledged as a powerful moral force, since the first foundations were laid in the early 1950's. The growing strength and relevance of Non-alignment has once again been demonstrated at the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries, held in Algiers, last year. It gives us great satisfaction that India and Yugoslavia, which have a close identity of views on international matters, worked together not only at Algiers but also in the United Nations and other international forums. However, there is now an urgent need for non-aligned countries to implement the various decisions reached at Algiers, particularly in the economic field. In the world situation of to-day, joint non-aligned action has become all the more important if the smaller and militarily strong nations are to safeguard their economic and political interests.

India and Yugoslavia have worked well together not only in the international arena but also in the all-round development of bilateral co-operation between our two countries. The increase in our exchanges in the economic, commercial, scientific and cultural fields is a matter of satisfaction to us. But there is a lot more which can be done in developing our relations in every field to our mutual benefit. We face many similar problems which makes it all the more necessary for us to expand our bilateral co-operation in every area.

India and Britain

I AM HAPPY to welcome you to our country. You are no stranger to India, the land of your birth, as you just described it. We are particularly appreciative of the friendly understanding which your Government has shown of our problems and of our aspirations. It is our earnest desire to strengthen the links of history, common institutions and shared values which bind us.

The striking advances which we have made in several fields of human endeavour, and to which you were good enough to refer in your remarks, have also brought before us some new problems and issues. We are determined to tackle them in the light of our own genius, at the same time profiting from the experience of other countries. The partnership which we have developed to our mutual advantage in the fields of science and technology is a valuable contribution in that endeavour. Our two countries have always maintained a relationship of frank and friendly dialogue on all subjects of mutual interest, and I am sure during your stewardship of your country's interests in India, this process will be further strengthened.

I welcome you, once again, and offer you my best wishes for the success of your mission as also for a very happy and fruitful stay in India. I need hardly assure you that you will have all the co-operation and understanding of my Government in carrying out your duties.

May I request you to convey my best wishes, and those of the Government and the people of India, to Her Majesty the Queen, the Government of the United Kingdom and the friendly British people.

India and Ghana

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to our country. As you have pointed out, the friendship between Ghana and India is based on common ideals and principles which we consider fundamental to world peace and international conduct. We share

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new High Commissioner of Britain, Sir Michael Walker, New Delhi, February 6, 1974

Speech while accepting the credentials from the High Commissioner of Ghana, Mr. Paul Boakye Duah, New Delhi, July 20, 1972

common objectives in our resolve to eliminate all manifestations of imperialism, colonialism, racialism and all forms of oppression in any part of the world. We believe that non-alignment has made and will continue to make significant contributions to the peaceful solution of world problems with equity and honour. We are also of the firm view that peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and co-operation between nations constitute the best hope of civilised progress to meet the needs and aspirations of mankind.

I wish to assure you of the fullest cooperation of my Government in the fulfilment of your mission and of our deep interest in further strengthening the very friendly and cordial relations already existing between our two countries.

Finally, may I request you, to convey to the Chairman of the National Redemption Council, His Excellency Col. I. K. Achcampong, our sincere good wishes for his health and happiness and for the welfare and prosperity of the people of Ghana.

India and Ethiopia

IT IS A SOURCE of very great pleasure for me to have been able to accept the kind invitation of Your Imperial Majesty to visit Ethiopia. My presence here is a renewed token of the esteem and friendship in which the people of India regard Your Imperial Majesty and the people of Ethiopia. The generous words with which your Imperial Majesty has welcomed me and my party we regard equally as signifying Ethiopia's deep friendship for India. I thank Your Imperial Majesty most sincerely for this kind gesture.

I have been greatly touched by the warmth and cordiality of the reception which has been accorded to us here. May I say how deeply I value this opportunity of acquainting myself with Ethiopia at first hand and acquiring some understanding of this country and its people!

The name of Your Imperial Majesty has been renowned in India for close on half a century. It is a famous name, but more importantly with us, it is regarded as belonging to a good and heroic personage. Your Imperial Majesty signifies determination in adversity, resolution in defeat, fortitude in exile and generous statesmanship in victory. The kingdom of Ethiopia, among the oldest in today's world, owes to Your

Speech at the banquet given in his honour by His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellasie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, September 25, 1972

Imperial Majesty every stride it has made to adapt to the needs of the day. In the comity of African States, Your Imperial Majesty's role has been truly unique and this historic capital, Addis Ababa, has emerged as a natural focus for the States of this continent for all that moderates, all that harmonises, if not all that unites. It is our ardent hope and prayer that Your Majesty will be spared for years to come to complete the immensely rewarding tasks of national development and continental co-operation.

We remember warmly Your Imperial Majesty's visits to India. Your Imperial Majesty is well acquainted with the aims, the objectives and the endeavours of our Government and people. India has recently completed 25 years of its new independence. To us, this Anniversary is a reminder that in the task of raising the lot of the common man, and of ensuring equal opportunity and reward for all men, we have made progress and learnt not a little, but must prepare ourselves for a long road ahead. We need peace and stability in our region. It is of vital importance that the States of our region come to develop beneficial ties among themselves based upon the recognition of the equality of States and the elimination of foreign domination. All those who wish us well will lend their encouragement and their support to these causes.

The relations between our two countries are of friendship and understanding, and these are deep-rooted and long-standing. The community of interests which permeate our relations are of high importance in today's world of rich nations and poor nations, of powerful nations and not so powerful nations. Over the years, beneficial co-operation between our Governments and our peoples have developed in many directions. It is our common duty to see that these intensify and are made to blossom. Your Imperial Majesty is well aware that our co-operation is based upon our desire for the true prosperity of Ethiopia, and in the fullest measure that our developmental experience, our resources and our technology permit, India's co-operation and assistance are available for Ethiopia's development. Thus may we enrich the ties that have joined us in our endeavours, both for our respective peoples and for a better world at large.

Our two Governments have upheld the fundamental principles of international life, namely, non-alignment in the politics of military power blocs, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, equality and integrity. India has stood shoulder to shoulder with all Governments in Africa and elsewhere that have upheld the dignity of man against racial oppression and colonial overlordship. India's support to these causes will continue as before. There is need to remain vigilant that we hold these values untarnished not only as precepts, but as operative principles of State action. This is so as

new forms of oppression, racist as well as colonialist, are rearing their heads today. Our actions no less than our ideals must manifest the claim that we lay to a birthright of equality without discrimination.

India and Tanzania

BOTH TANZANIA AND India have a shared experience of colonial overlordship. The complex of our relations has inherited from this history features that consolidate as well as features that divide. Since Independence, our countries have sought to formulate our national objectives by democratic processes. It is the happy fact that an unusually common identity of approach has emerged in the objectives of Tanzania and India. The TANU creed and the Arusha Declaration affirm, as do the principles of the Indian Constitution, dignity, equality and social justice for the citizen; and for the community, a socialistic pattern, founded on self-reliance and co-operation. Neither Tanzania nor India lays claim to a record of domination over others, and our international objectives are based upon the sovereign equality of nations, and non-involvement in the politics of power blocs. The independence of judgement which we greatly treasure is the basis of our policy of non-alignment.

Mr. President, for us in India, the consuming concern is the war against want, ignorance, sickness and poverty. The 25th Anniversary of India's Independence which we observed a few weeks ago served to remind us that ahead are many hurdles to overcome and many tasks to complete. Peace and stability of an enduring character are an imperative for our region. We approach the issues of regional peace and stability in a sincere spirit of reconciliation and goodwill. We consider that mutual respect and confidence among the States in our region will open avenues of co-operation and prosperity that will far surpass the horizons of the past. We are confident that all who have at heart the progress of the peoples of our region will encourage and support these endeavours.

Mr. President, we have stood shoulder to shoulder in Africa's continuing struggle against racial and colonial oppression. India's support will continue firm and strong. Mr. President you raised

Speech at the banquet given in his honour by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, September 28, 1972

your voice recently as reminder that the pernicious doctrine of racialism may permeate even free Africa. Men everywhere have applauded your courage and your sense of rectitude. May I venture to observe that you did a great service to a cause that in both our countries is held dear! Prejudice within the body politic can gravely vitiate the validity and the vigour of our cause.

I look forward with much pleasure to my stay in Tanzania to learn something of your experiment in self-reliance and co-operation. The process of transformation of the agrarian landscape which you have set in motion holds much fascination for me. My Government observes with close interest the progress of Tanzania in the objectives it has set for herself. You are aware, Mr. President, that my Government stands ready to extend to the Government of Tanzania in all practical ways the fruits of our experience and resources. It is my hope, and I am confident that you share it, that concrete manifestations of mutual collaboration will take shape in the near future.

Your goals, *Uhuru* and *Ujamaa*—freedom of unity, *Uhuru* and *Ujamaa*—freedom and co-operation, are goals for all men of goodwill and vision. They are part of the age-old struggle for man's emancipation. On behalf of the Government of India I wish the Government of Tanzania every success in its endeavours.

India and Zanzibar

AS YOU SAY Mr. Chairman, our forefathers were amongst the earliest to come here and barter their wares in exchange for the ivory and spices for which Zanzibar has long been famous. And even to-day there are, I believe, reminders of Zanzibar's old trading and cultural links with India.

All this is part of history. What matters today is that the destiny of these islands and the destiny of the Union of Tanzania, is in the hands of true-born citizens. Colonialism and feudalism, imperialist exploitation and slavery are now for ever part of the past. As in India, the burden and challenge to rebuild our respective nations is upon us—the sons of the soil and no longer with any outsiders. I appreciate your references to the role of India in the quest for

Speech at the banquet given in his honour, by His Excellency Aboud Jumbe, Chairman of the Executive and Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar (First Vice President of Tanzania) Zanzibar, September 29, 1972

national self-determination and human dignity. Our struggle started with the protest against racial discrimination in Africa; it will only be considered complete with the eradication of the pockets of colonialism from the rest of this continent.

I have had a glimpse of the progress made in Zanzibar in the short span of 8 years under the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi Party. New roads, new houses, factories, new crops, new townships—a new life throbs in these rich and beautiful islands. You, like us, are building anew to bring dignity and social justice to your people. Let me reciprocate your goodwill and say that in your quest for progress if you feel India could be of help, we would be only too willing to co-operate with your plans. We have no pre-conditions and we have no ulterior aims; we cherish all relationships based only on goodwill, equality and mutual respect. We already have some technical teachers in your schools. We would be willing to look for other experts whenever you ask us to do so. Our experience of development is at your disposal to draw upon. May I repeat, Mr. Chairman, what I said in Dar-es-Salaam yesterday, that India cherishes with the deepest respect the quest of Tanzania on the path of progress and in the building of socialism. Therefore, I fully share your hope and my Government looks forward to exploring the avenues for further co-operation between us.

Mr. Chairman, you still have amongst your residents many families whose forefathers originated in India. Most of them now are your people. They are your citizens. We do not disown our historical kinship. Just as we would rejoice in their welfare and the progress which will come to these islands, we may share in their concerns and anxieties. But even as we recognise their religious and cultural kinship with India, we enjoin them to bear true allegiance to the land of their domicile and render, in all honesty, the obligations of their citizenship. We ask of you nothing more than respect for their cultural personality and welfare.

Mr. Chairman, across these same waters which lap your shores is our country. This ocean must not be looked upon as that which separates us but as the cheapest highway which joins us together. Along this highway, I agree there is immense scope to revitalise our old trade connections. The nations which border this ocean are of diverse stock but all of us, now awake from the long night of colonialism, are determined to rectify the disabilities inherited from our imperialist masters. We must of course guard these waters so that they are free from conflicts and tensions; they must be used only to facilitate trade and peaceful co-operation. The challenge is to our determination to preserve peace and to forge the sinews of friendship which can bind us all in mutual respect and economic complementarity.

I am most appreciative, Mr. Chairman, for this welcome. We can draw inspiration from our old connections and the heritage of our cultures. But we can do more in reshaping the future; we can demonstrate the dedication of new Africa and Asia to work together transcending race, religion and geography. With goodwill and determination, I am confident, we are opening a new chapter in our old relations.

India and Zambia

THE PEOPLE OF India view with unbounded admiration the principled and resolute stand of Zambia in facing the immense challenges that confront her from without. We applaud your indomitable spirit. The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, whose earliest experiments in *satyagraha*—non-violent non-cooperation—took shape in this continent, taught us to fight evil. We know that truth will prevail and that there can be no compromise with the affront of racial intolerance and the inequity of colonial domination. You are well aware, Mr. President, of the complete accord that exists between our Governments on these issues. I would only say here that the people of India stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Zambia and wish you godspeed and success in your heroic struggle against these evil manifestations.

Our two societies are based on the mosaic of multiplicity of races and faiths and we seek to afford equality under law for all our peoples. You have given unique expression repeatedly, Mr. President, to the concern, and I would say anguish, of enlightened men everywhere over the creeping threat of racialism even in free Africa. Your direct and courageous approach to this matter has served to encourage and sustain faith in the honesty of man. We must vigorously protect the essential quality of our convictions on these issues.

With Zambia's independence came the adventure of harnessing your immense natural wealth to the needs of national development, and of correcting the socio-political distortions that colonial history had bequeathed. I have learnt something of the Mulungushi Reforms and the humanistic approach of your Government to these tasks—an inspiration to men everywhere.

Speech at the banquet given in his honour by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, Lusaka, October 5, 1972

In India, in 25 years of independence, we have made substantial progress in building a sophisticated industrial base; and in the matter of our food requirements we have reached a sufficiency not considered possible a few years ago. We are now on the threshold of our Fifth Five Year Plan, in our quest for a better life for our people. We are about to make a direct assault on poverty and unemployment, and institutional innovations, and adjustments are on the anvil, geared to programmes and investments, and production related to minimum levels of consumption for all. You are aware, Mr. President, that the experience of our technology and our professionalism has already become available to Zambia, and programmes are in motion that will accentuate their pace and promote, in even richer measure, co-operation to our mutual benefit. Both our countries were victims of colonialism, and our co-operation now is based upon the fullest equality between our countries.

We wish you, Mr. President, all success in your dedicated efforts to provide for your people the basic amenities for a civilised existence—food, clothing and shelter. In this task, we offer our hand of partnership, for we too are fighting in our land a battle against poverty, ignorance and disease.

We are fully aware of your total dedication to the cause of human understanding and international peace. It is this recognition that has made us in India to choose you for the highest award of Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding. We are all eagerly looking forward to your visit to India at your convenience.

Mr. President, this city of Lusaka has given its name to the Non-aligned Declaration of 1970. Zambia and India subscribe devotedly to the principles enshrined in this Declaration. We do this not in deference only to narrow national interests, but in the conviction that they alone represent a sure basis for lasting international peace, goodwill and understanding. In the situation of today developing countries must forge firmer economic links among themselves to protect and promote their political independence. The exertion and the effort that are demanded must be made, as the objectives are of the highest value.

Our fraternal ties have served us well in our moments of crisis. We recall Zambia's great understanding and sympathy that were with us during the traumatic months of 1971 when in our sub-continent a new nation emerged into freedom from the long might of oppression. We are determined to develop mutually beneficial ties among the States of our region, based upon the recognition of their equality and the elimination of foreign domination. We are confident that in these endeavours we have with us the support of our friends.

India and Sudan

IT GIVES ME much pleasure to welcome you to India. Sudan is a country with whom we have very close relations and fruitful co-operation. We wish not only to continue, but to widen and deepen this friendship and co-operation for our mutual benefit. Therefore, Your Excellency will find a ready response in the Government of India to your efforts to bring Sudan and India still closer together.

Mr. Ambassador, you referred to the teachings and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, as well as to the contribution of our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to the policy of non-alignment. The quarter-century that has passed since our independence confirms that the correctness of the ideas and ideals of tolerance, mutual understanding and love of truth is greater today than ever before. Similarly, the policy of non-alignment which springs basically from an esteem for different national personalities and from a respect for the right of each country to formulate its own policy and take its own decisions, is very relevant and valid.

In its quest for peace and justice amongst the peoples of the world, India has always supported the just cause of the Arab people and has insisted on the vacation of the aggression committed on the Arab lands. India remains firm in its support of the Arab people and is convinced that a durable peace in West Asia can be achieved only through the observance of the relevant U.N. resolutions and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

Bilateral relations between Sudan and India are very good. Sudan is among India's most important trading-partners. Our two countries have co-operated closely at the United Nations, in non-aligned conference and at other international forums.

We are looking forward to the continuation of such concerted action.

India and the Republic of Zaire

YOUR VISIT CONSTITUTES a landmark in the friendly relations existing between our two countries, and we hope that it will be the precursor of many other visits between Zaire and India.

You, Mr. President, are the founder of the Second Republic of Zaire. The vision, leadership and courage displayed by you in the consolidation of peace and the unification of your country have become a part of history and have earned the admiration of all. You have brought to Zaire a new era of self-confidence, of purpose and of stature in African and world affairs. Your achievements have been a source of inspiration for many countries throughout the world.

Under your guidance and leadership Zaire, richly endowed with the resources of nature, has set herself on a course of economic development and independence which alone can contribute to the advancement of the masses. We wish you and your people all success in the many tasks that lie ahead.

We are following with interest the progress of your historic reforms in the social and cultural fields in your country, and of the massive programme of "authenticite" which is being launched under your leadership. This programme, we believe, will inject a national consciousness and regenerate the cultural and historical traditions which your country possesses in such abundant measure but which under long colonial rule could not find full and free expression.

We have admired the many missions that you have undertaken for peace and co-operation in many African countries. You have championed the cause of the freedom fighters in Africa who today are locked in fierce combat against the colonial powers, and of the peoples struggling for their rights against racial discrimination, injustice and inhumanity. In this struggle also, Africa will be successful and you have, as always, our full support and sympathy. Your recent intervention with a neighbouring African State in support of just, humane and equitable behaviour is a measure of your statesmanship and of your dedication to the principles of civilised conduct.

We in our part of the world, Mr. President, have been through difficult and distressing times. You are, of course, aware of the events on our sub-continent during the course of the year 1971, of the outbreak of war, of our cease-fire and of the emergence of the new sovereign state of Bangladesh. My Government has spared no effort to achieve an honourable reconciliation and a durable peace. We

Speech at the dinner given in honour of President Mobutu Sese Seiko of the Republic of Zaire, New Delhi, January 22, 1973

have signed the Simla Agreement and shall persevere in its implementation. We see no problems with our neighbour, Pakistan, that cannot be settled peacefully by discussion and negotiation; we seek co-operation in the broadest and full sense which will enable us a. to concentrate our energies on our supreme task and duty to promote the economic and social progress of the masses of the people.

During the course of Your Excellency's visit to my country, I hope you will find something of interest and significance in our economic activity, in our industrial and agricultural projects and in our technological development. We believe there is considerable ground for increasing our co-operation in all these fields and that such co-operation will give content and mutual interest to our relationship, strengthen our contacts and augment our knowledge of each other's progress and development. With similar problems and experiences, we believe that developing countries can make significant contribution to each other, and it is only thus that the widening gap between the advanced world and ourselves can begin to be narrowed, which in the long run will remove many causes of international friction, rivalry and conflict.

Mr. President, the contacts between our two continents have a long history and were only severed by the advent of the colonial powers. Our peoples share common values; they have an inborn sense of individual liberty; they believe in justice and equality between man and man; we are both proud of our traditions, of our customs and of our culture. We are, therefore, happy to reciprocate warmly Your Excellency's desire for increasing cultural contacts and exchanges between us. By this means our peoples will become more closely acquainted with each other and enrich our relationship.

India and Nigeria

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as High Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Nigeria to India. We have watched with great admiration the progress in national reconciliation, reconstruction and development that has taken place in your country under the wise leadership of the Head of the Federal Military Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency General Gowon. We are confident that

Speech while accepting the credentials from the new High Commissioner of Nigeria, Mr. Soji Williams, New Delhi, December 24, 1973

this will enable Nigeria to play its rightful role in international affairs in general and in Africa in particular.

Our bilateral relations have been developing satisfactorily in different fields, reflecting the traditional ties of friendship and co-operation existing between our two countries which are founded on common ideals and objectives. Since attainment of independence by our two countries, the relations have been further enriched by new contacts in economic and cultural fields. The size and resources of our countries provide firm foundations for their rapid growth in future.

We have close identity of views on international issues. In the United Nations, in the non-aligned group of countries and in the Commonwealth, our two countries have made significant contributions in solving difficult problems which we, the developing countries face in the world. Our firm adherence to the policy of non-alignment has been a positive factor in furthering the cause of peace and reducing economic and social inequalities.

India and Gabon

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Gabon in India.

In spite of the great distance that separates us, Gabon and India have excellent relations and many things in common. We immensely value the friendship of the Republic of Gabon and are anxious to further strengthen the links which bind our two countries.

I share your view that the trade and commercial link between us is capable of being developed to the advantage of both as considerable possibilities exist in that *domain*. I agree that in the world of today closer co-operation among the developing countries in diverse fields is of prime importance and with that end in view we should direct our efforts jointly to identify areas of mutual interest. I may reiterate that my Government is always prepared to do all in its power to achieve this.

I wish to assure you, Mr. Ambassador, that you will receive the fullest co-operation and assistance of my Government in the discharge of your mission in this country.

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Gabon, Mr. Marcel Sandoungout, New Delhi, January 17, 1974

India and the Arab Republic of Egypt

IT IS MY privilege and pleasure today to welcome Your Excellency, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and those accompanying your Excellency.

Mr. President, you guide the destinies of a country which is the cradle of civilisation, the meeting place of the three continents of the old world, a centre of culture and scholarship, and a bastion of Afro-Asian solidarity. For the last quarter of a century and more, however, Egypt, along with other Arab countries, has had to face the problem of an expansionist and aggressive neighbour. We saw how a great part of the national energies of Egypt was diverted to rectifying this unacceptable and intolerable situation, with the result that the tasks of economic reconstruction and social and cultural regeneration could not proceed as fast as they would otherwise have. Mr. President, you have broken this stalemate.

The great achievements which your country has recently recorded under your wise and dynamic leadership have earned universal respect and admiration. These achievements constitute one of the most significant events of modern times, they also illuminate a brilliant page in the long and glorious annals of your great history. We salute your victories and we pay homage to the great sacrifices of your countrymen. The courage and determination of your people, guided by your wisdom, your vision and your humanity, guarantee the success of your just cause.

In the long Arab struggle for this cause, you have had our full support. The ideals for which you have fought are the same ideals of justice, honour and civilised conduct in human affairs which we have shared down the centuries, which we cherish and which we will always defend. The usurpation of territory by force, the expulsion of innocent people from their homes, the use of threat and violence in international relations, all of which the Arab people have suffered for so long, have aroused the indignation and sympathy of the people of India. While we share your joy and satisfaction at your great successes, we have no illusions of the difficult days ahead. Along with your many friends, we shall stand by you and give whatever support we can in this great struggle of the Arab people.

We see today a world passing through grave crisis and economic strains. Perhaps it is only the beginning. They may well affect us in the developing world more seriously than the richer countries. It

Speech at the dinner given in honour of President Sadat of the Arab Republic of Egypt, New Delhi, February 24, 1974

will ultimately be our own efforts and our solidarity and co-operation with our friends, that will enable us to overcome these difficulties. In Egypt, we believe, we have a powerful and traditional friend and ally. Between our two countries there are many fields of modern endeavour which remain to be explored by the joint efforts of our new generations of scientists, economists, industrialists and technicians. We have fully appreciated the grave preoccupations and serious burdens which have exercised your attention and energies over the past years. We, also, in our part of the world, have had our difficulties and setbacks. Both of us, I believe, can look to the future with some confidence and with the hope of a greater ability to dedicate our energies to the pursuits of peace and co-operation, bilaterally, regionally and in the true interests of world concord.

India and Colombia

IT GIVES ME great pleasure on behalf of the Government and people of India, and on my own behalf to welcome you to our land and to accept your credentials as Colombia's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

We have viewed with much interest the efforts being made in your country to elevate the living standards of your people and in that indeed, we share an identical purpose. We have also observed closely the developments which have in the past few years, and more specially during the last year, brought our two countries closer to each other.

In spite of the great distance separating us, determined efforts have been made by both the Governments to further strengthen the relations already existing in various fields. Our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, visited Colombia in 1968 and various commercial delegations have visited Colombia since then. The Delegation from Projects and Equipment Corporation which visited Colombia early this year has confirmed the scope for expanding Indo-Colombian economic relations and we sincerely hope that the aspirations embodied in the trade agreement signed two years ago will, before long, be fulfilled. We are both intensively conscious of our common interest as developing

Speech while accepting the credentials from the Ambassador of Colombia, Mr. Fernando Navas de Brigard, New Delhi, June 9, 1972

countries and the need for closer and closer co-operation in institutions like the Group 77 and the UNCTAD.

I am happy to say that, before long, we hope to have a Resident Mission in Colombia which will strive to build closer relations between our two countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

As you address yourself to the renewal and strengthening of the friendship between our two countries, you may be assured, Mr. Ambassador, of full co-operation from the Government and people of India.

India and Cuba

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending to you a very cordial welcome on behalf of my Government and myself on your appointment as Cuba's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to India.

Although we are separated by vast distances, Cuba and India share common problems and aspirations, and are moved by a similar desire to improve the social and economic conditions of our peoples. We observe with sympathy and interest the endeavour of the Government and people of Cuba to strengthen and increase their prosperity and well-being.

The people of India highly appreciated the support and sympathy of the Cuban Government to the aspirations of the people of Bangladesh and, in particular, Cuba's vote against the General Assembly Resolution in December last year, which was opposed by India.

I hope that the friendship and cordiality which has so far marked our relationship will attain new dimensions during your tenure of office. To this end, Mr. Ambassador, you may be assured of the sincere co-operation of my Government as well as of the people of India. I would like to convey, through you, my sincere greetings and best wishes to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, for his good health and for the prosperity and well-being of the Cuban people.

India and Canada

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as Canada's High Commissioner. Your return to India for a second tenure is in some ways symbolic of the bonds between our peoples. We have been fortunate in finding many areas of co-operation, both bilaterally and in the wider international field. Canada has co-operated generously in our efforts to improve our economic well-being. In the past two decades, Canadian and Indian soldiers have often stood side by side in the cause of peace under UN auspices. There has been nothing fortuitous about these developments. They have been rather the logical outcome of our commitment to certain common values and to shared aspirations for a better future for all mankind.

You have rightly remarked on the need for dialogue in this complex world. The necessary partner to dialogue must be knowledge of each other. Through the years, Canada has grown in international stature by her dynamism, her manysided progress and her championship of humanitarian causes. We in India, have looked on developments in Canada with considerable interest, in particular your efforts to develop a harmonised Canadian personality out of the varied streams of immigration into your country. We are happy that people of Indian origin have been welcomed in Canada and gratified that they should constitute, if I may quote your Excellency, "a distinguished part of the Canadian mosaic."

You have returned to India at a time when we are hopefully posed on the threshold of advance and progress in new directions. We hope that, in observing the Indian scene in the coming years, you will be able to share some of the sense of excitement we feel in this change and advance. We are confident that your tenure will see a re-affirmation and strengthening of the friendship which has marked relations between our countries. Towards this end, you may be assured of the full co-operation of the Government and people of India.

India and Brazil

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the Ambassador of Brazil. I am happy that despite the long distance separating our two countries the peoples of India and Brazil have evolved a closer relationship in recent years. We in India feel an affinity with the aspirations and endeavours of the Brazilian people towards further economic development. I agree with you Mr. Ambassador, that our two countries have an identity of purposes in this regard and I can assure you that my Government is equally keen to promote the further development of economic and cultural relations between our two countries and of co-operation between us in international forums.

The recent visit of our economic delegation to Brazil has raised expectations of increase in trade between our two countries. I hope the sustained consideration being given by both the Governments to a shared shipping line between India and Brazil will produce concrete results before long.

Our Prime Minister's visit to Brazil during her tour of Latin America in 1968 gave an intense fillip to Indo-Brazilian relations. The cultural agreement concluded at that time became the basis for exchange of artists and of co-operation in the scientific field. We are deeply interested in the cultural wealth of Brazil and are also well aware of the great interest which your country takes in India's cultural heritage. The enthusiastic response of the Brazilian people to the recently held exhibition of Indian handicrafts in Rio-de-Janeiro is evidence of a desire for better understanding between our peoples.

I thank you Mr. Ambassador for the kind sentiments you have expressed and I am sure that your tenure here will contribute to further strengthening the bonds of cordiality and friendship which already exists between our two countries. In this task you will always receive the fullest co-operation and assistance from my Government.

India and Guyana

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending to you a very cordial and warm welcome as the first Resident High Commissioner of Guyana to India. Your Government's decision to open a Resident Mission in New Delhi is an evidence of the rapid growth of friendly and co-operative relationship between our two countries. I am sure your presence here will contribute considerably to the further development of this relationship.

Guyana and India have a long-standing association despite the vast distance that separates the two countries. You have spoken of the presence in your country of many Guyanese of Indian origin. It is indeed a matter of 'historic significance' that an Indo-Guyanese is now the distinguished representative of Guyana in this country. We are happy that the Guyanese of Indian origin are proud and resourceful citizens of Guyana and have made a significant contribution to the progress of their country.

Our two countries share many common values. We have been co-operating with each other in international forums, and as members of the non-aligned group of nations, have endeavoured to contribute to the promotion of peace in the world. The holding of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries in Georgetown last year was a tribute to Guyana's significant role in the non-aligned movement. I have no doubt that our co-operation in the international sphere will grow further in the years to come.

We are happy that the Government of India and the Government of Guyana have sought to expand economic and cultural co-operation and have taken several measures towards this end. We believe that there is considerable scope for further increasing commercial and economic contacts between our two countries, and, I am sure that during the period of your assignment, we will move ahead in this direction.

I am grateful to your President, your Government, and the people of Guyana for the warm and affectionate greetings which they have sent through you. We fully reciprocate their sentiments. Kindly convey our affectionate greetings and best wishes to them for their happiness and success in all their endeavours.

Mr. High Commissioner, I hope, you will find your stay in India interesting and fruitful. I would like to assure you of the sincere

Speech while accepting the credentials from the High Commissioner of Guyana,
Mr. Rahman Baccus Gajraj, New Delhi, January 22, 1973

co-operation of my Government as well as of the people of India during your tenure in our country.

India and Trinidad and Tobago

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you here today as the High Commissioner of Trinidad and Tobago to India. Relations between our two countries are happily very friendly and cordial and I am confident they will become stronger during Your Excellency's tenure in this country.

Our two countries have many links which bind us together. As adherents to the concept of non-alignment, both India and Trinidad and Tobago have endeavoured to promote peace and stability in the international sphere. The mutual co-operation between us in various international forums is evidence of the closeness which characterises our relationship. We are both members of the Commonwealth and have adopted the parliamentary system of democracy.

I am glad that the cultural affinity, to which you have referred, continues to play a role in bringing our two peoples closer despite the vast distance that separates us. Even more heartening is the fact that we have in India a number of students from your country and these young "Ambassadors" are contributing to the further strengthening of our mutual relationship.

Trade and commercial relations between our two countries have also been developing in a satisfactory manner. It is my hope that in the near future these links will be further strengthened.

Mr. High Commissioner, I assure you that during your stay in this country, you will have the full co-operation of the Government of India in carrying out your responsibilities. May I request you to convey to His Excellency the Governor General of Trinidad and Tobago, His Excellency the Prime Minister and other Members of his Government, the warmest greetings and best wishes from the Government and people of India.

India and Australia

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you to India. Though our two countries are separated by a long distance our respect for democratic values has brought us closer together and ensured our friendship. Australia and India have always enjoyed good relations with each other. We have no bilateral problems of any kind. Your recent pronouncements on foreign policy have brought us even closer. We have particularly appreciated your realistic attitude towards the situation in our sub-continent and your determined disapproval of racial discrimination and colonialism in all forms. Your support of the United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace has been a most welcome development in our search for peace and security in this region. We share your desire for greater co-operation in the Asia-Pacific region. In view of this close and growing similarity in our outlooks, we look forward to widening the range and deepening the content of our relations. The visit of your Prime Minister to our country in June, soon after assuming office, was a landmark in our relations and greatly contributed to strengthening them.

We fully reciprocate your desire to find new dimensions to our friendship. I assure you of the full support of my Government in your efforts to this end. You have referred to India's position in Asia and its influence in world affairs. We do not of course seek any leadership but are content if our influence can contribute to peace, friendship and co-operation among nations. For us the most important and pressing task is the improvement of the economic and social condition of our people. In this endeavour, we greatly appreciate the aid given by friendly countries like yours for attaining self-reliant growth.

In conclusion, I would like to wish you all success in your mission and a happy fruitful stay in India. May I also request Your Excellency to convey to the Government and people of Australia our best wishes for their progress and prosperity.

National Affairs

The Role of Civil Servant

I AM INDEED happy to be here in your midst this morning. At the outset I must congratulate you all on your selection to the Administrative Service and also on the excellent training that is being imparted to you here so that you can take your rightful place in the administration of our country.

In the pre-independence days, the task of an administrator in India was considerably limited and his primary and major role was only to see that law and order was maintained and that revenue was collected properly, and scarcely any attention was paid to the needs of the people. Of course, the very structure of the bureaucracy was then designed to meet only these limited purposes. With the change from colonialism to democracy, there has been a fundamental change in the nature of the functions of the State. From a police State it became a welfare State. The magnitude and complexity of the role of an administrator has naturally undergone a tremendous change. Today, he has to cover the entire gamut of activities in the life of the nation. In the implementation of the developmental activities he has to play a very crucial and pivotal role. The policies enunciated, however laudable they may be, can get diluted considerably if their implementation is not effective or if the administrator lacks dedication and sincerity of purpose. Here, I would like to stress that the approach of the administrators should be one of sympathy and understanding and they can no longer continue to entertain the old *Burra Sahab* attitude of being high and mighty. They have to be one with the people, live with them, understand what exactly they want and help them in the fulfilment of their aspirations. It is unfortunate that in some respects the old approach of the administrative system still lingers on. The administration must reflect the hopes and aspirations of our common people, and it must be imbued with the spirit of human approach to all problems. Behind every file that comes to an administrator is a human problem and it has to be dealt with sympathy, sensitivity and understanding.

The old system was inadequate to meet our goals and objectives. It is true that even in developed countries there is a rethinking of the role of the administration and there is constant effort to modify the same to meet the changing needs. In developing countries like India where changes have to be effected on a massive scale, and that too within a short span of time, the immensity of the task of the adminis-

Address to the Probationers at the Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, December 6, 1972

trator is greater. In the stupendous task of nation-building, the Government in the country is expected to be the major instrument and agent of social and economic transformation. This obviously implies a fundamental and radical change in the very concept of the Government.

The question of organisation of the public services is invariably a momentous one and it assumes great importance especially when democratic institutions have to carry on the administration. Unless the agency through which such institutions function is efficient, independent, impartial and honest, the Government will be brought into disrepute.

We have accepted a form of administration which recognises the principles of political neutrality, achievement and a merit-based hierarchical system and security of tenure. This system is designed to provide technical advice backed by experience and knowledge as also to provide continuity in the face of political changes. The structure is framed to enable the political superior and the administrative executive to supplement each other, the whole system is based upon mutual trust and confidence.

During the last 15 years, I have seen the working of a number of young and energetic members of the administrative and other services and the devotion with which they involve themselves in their work is most praiseworthy. Some of them posted in the relatively backward districts of different regions have earned the goodwill and respect of the people they serve, and it is to them the people owe all the progress that has been made in those regions. We want more and more of young men with total devotion and dedication who have integrity, sense of purpose and zeal. I always believe that however beneficial a scheme might be in principle, its successful realisation is possible only if the persons who are responsible for the implementation have the necessary spirit of service and involvement. I will give you an example. In 1937—39, when I was a Minister in Madras, I had to select a Registrar of Co-operative Societies, a coveted post indeed, which many a senior civil servant in those days aspired for. As against the claims of some senior Englishmen, I chose an Indian, who, I felt, would propagate the co-operative movement better. When both the Prime Minister of the then Madras Presidency and the Governor wanted to know the reason that weighed with me for choosing that particular individual, I had to tell them that the propagation of the co-operative movement depended greatly on the ability of the officer to go to the villages, sit in the village *pia* and partake of the food the villagers offered. The officer would have to be one who could completely identify himself with the people, to do propaganda

for the people to come together and co-operate; and surely an Englishman with his background would be the least suited to handle such a job as it required a total involvement and understanding. I was proved right, for the subsequent events showed that the officer I chose did tremendously good work in spreading the co-operative movement in Madras.

The urgency and importance of the revitalization and re-orientation of public service cannot possibly be exaggerated. It is a problem of vital significance and on its satisfactory solution will depend to a large extent the success of parliamentary democracy already firmly rooted in our country, as well as the progress and prosperity of our people.

In the context of our present political set up, neither the politician nor the administrator can claim to possess the quintessence of all knowledge, wisdom and experience. For the efficient and effective functioning of the Government, we should draw from the politician, sagacity and zeal to obtain quick result, and from the administrator, intimate knowledge, rich experience and ability of getting things done. A close, healthy and harmonious relationship should exist between the Ministers on the one hand and the Secretaries and Heads of the various Departments on the other and this can be promoted and sustained only if there is proper understanding among these two vital limbs of the Government. While the civil servant should execute faithfully and loyally the policies of the Government, his political superior should give him adequate opportunities to sift all the available data to come to a free and independent judgement. Nevertheless, it is important that the administrator should realize his limitation and should guard against the temptation of misusing the vast power given to him. The politician also should, after laying down the broad principles avoid meddling with details or interfering in the day-to-day working of the administration directly.

The administrators have also to realize that they have to work in active co-operation with the people as much as they are to be in close touch with the policy-makers. Possessing as they do in abundance, knowledge and experience, they cannot remain satisfied merely by implementing the directions given to them. I do not think the administrator in a developing democracy could remain "anonymous" or "neutral". He cannot be so for in the present set-up he is personally responsible for furthering the welfare of the general community. The administrators have to become partners in progress and creative collaborators in the big adventure of nation-building and should identify themselves with the general population.

In this connection, it may not be out of place to discuss the role of the Governor, the Minister, the Secretariat, and the District Ad-

ministration, as all these have to play an effective role in the efficient conduct of the affairs of the State.

I have always held the view that a Governor within the constitutional framework can perform a large number of useful and necessary functions without stepping on the toes of anybody. I often used to tell jocularly to my Cabinet colleagues that the Governor can trumpet the success of the administration much more than the Government themselves could. This apart, the Governor could always advise the Members of his Cabinet whenever he feels the necessity of doing so or when they seek his views and opinions. The Governor has a duty to advise, to caution and to warn. I personally feel there is no need to amend the Constitution in order to give the Governor wider powers. It essentially depends on the personality of the Governor to make an impact on the administration and his Cabinet about his usefulness by his constructive suggestions. A Governor, generally being an outsider to the State with fairly rich administrative and political experience, can give suggestions and advice and provide a solution to many knotty issues. After all, we should remember that the very democratic basis of our Governments rests on compromises. The greatest good of the greatest number is the ultimate criterion which governs any democratic system.

The complaint in India is that red-tapism is largely responsible for delaying decisions, thus making Governments unpopular. The situation could be improved if all communications to Ministers are promptly attended to and files as they come up treated like creditors and disposed of immediately. In all big issues that come up for decision before Ministers requiring their closest scrutiny and study, they should first be ready with their tentative views and at the earliest opportunity should call for a conference of those concerned with the issue and then come to a final decision without any loss of time.

In this connection, while we have to safeguard against wrong decisions being taken, we equally have to be expeditious and efficient in taking decisions. As much as justice delayed is justice denied, so also, in the field of public administration, lack of quick decisions and speedy implementation will tend to defeat the very purpose of administration. I still remember an occasion when I became for the first time a Minister in the Madras Cabinet in 1937. I had to deal with a big file which had collected dust for years and nobody was prepared to take the responsibility for taking the final decision. The matter related to the Co-operative Department in which other departments were also vitally concerned. I was rather awed when I first saw the file. Later I convened a meeting of all the concerned officials of the Department of Finance, Development and Co-operation and the

P.W.D. We discussed the problem in all its aspects, and decisions could be arrived at, taking into account the views and opinions of all, and we could finally dispose of the file in a matter of a few hours. It is easy for us to excuse ourselves by saying that a particular issue related to very many departments whose views have to be ascertained, but if we really want to take quick decisions, it is possible to do so in spite of the present hierarchical set-up and the rules of procedure. It essentially depends on the individual administrator how exactly he views the problem. If he is one that would like to play safe or take things easy, nobody can help him. If he is really sincere, honest and hard-working, he can surely tackle the problem effectively, cutting much of the red-tape that seems to be still the major cause responsible for inordinate delays stultifying all progress.

Success of the administration depends on the co-operation of all the Ministers concerned with reference to an issue in which they are directly or indirectly involved. The Secretaries should consider themselves as junior comrades of the Minister and they should not feel any fear of consequences if they stated their views frankly to the Ministers. The Ministers themselves, I am confident, in their turn will appreciate a point of view even if it comes into conflict with their own. If this procedure is followed by the policy-makers, the officers will be able to state their views fearlessly and in an impartial manner. Otherwise there will be a tendency on the part of the Secretaries to attempt to guess the mind of the Minister. Sometimes this may not be in the best interests of the State. The Minister should not only appreciate another point of view, but encourage the officers to give their own independent opinions.

However, once an order is passed by a Minister, after considering all aspects of the matter, the Secretary, even if he had differed with the Minister earlier during the stage of discussions, should fully and without reservation execute the order. He should implement the final orders of the Minister as if the orders were his own. There will be camaraderie if this procedure is adopted and the administration will run smoothly.

The institution of the District Collector which is an innovation of the British rule and which has very few parallels anywhere else in the world is based on the concept of area administration where a generalist administrator is made responsible for practically everything in that particular administrative area. This office represents the most suitable and viable instrument that Government has in their hands to achieve the goals that are before the nation. With the constitution of the service in such a manner that it provides the necessary linkage between the administration of the States and the Centre, the Collectors who normally belong to the All-India service, are expected to bring

to bear an all-India perspective even while operating within the limits of a district. This to my mind is very important in view of the fact that lately there has been such a pronounced tendency for almost all problems to assume regional over-tones which distort the issues involved.

Our declared objectives have been to transform in a democratic manner our society into a modern one without at the same time imbibing the evils of the modern industrial society. Our effort is to achieve rapid economic development without sacrificing individual liberty and create a pattern of society which is free from exploitation and where there is equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities. In a country which has so many cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups and which has such a huge population with a wide variety of regional variations, this task is indeed a stupendous one, and ever since we launched on this pilgrimage of ours there have been a number of vicissitudes. Nevertheless, if the country has been able to achieve such a remarkable degree of political stability, a capacity to manufacture a wide range of sophisticated equipment, and make significant advances in the industrial field and substantial increase in literacy and life expectancy, it speaks of the inherent strength of our society to modernise itself.

A good administrator must necessarily be a man with a strong bent for action, one who feels that his thinking is a by-product of his involvement in action. He must tirelessly pursue means of improving administration, must be receptive to suggestions for improvement, must be an initiator of new ideas about performance and discoverer of new ways to apprise what is going on. I am sure the training you have received here will enable you to play your role in a worthy manner. I thank your Director for affording me an opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you. I wish you all success.

Mobilise Resources to Energise Villages

I AM HAPPY to inaugurate the Plenary Session of the Sixth National Sammelan of All-India Panchayat Parishad, which is being attended

Speech at the Plenary Session of the Sixth Sammelan of All-India Panchayat Parishad, New Delhi, March 25, 1973

by representatives of Panchayats from all over the country. "Panchayat", as Gandhiji said long ago, "has an ancient flavour". But with the advent of the British rule, the Panchayats could not thrive as effective units of local Government. After the independence the urge to revive these moribund institutions was, therefore, natural. It found expression in the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Article 40 lays down that "the State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and to endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

Efforts towards rural reconstruction underlined the fact that people's participation was a pre-requisite for any advancement of the rural communities. The emergence of democratic institutions was thus a consequence of this realisation. The process of democratic decentralisation was set afoot following the recommendations of the Balwantray Mehta Study Team. The system provided, as we all know, the three-tier structure of Panchayati Raj Institutions.

First introduced in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh in 1959, Panchayati Raj system now covers the entire country excepting a few States. Panchayati Raj institutions have taken root and gathered momentum in some of the States, while in others they are still in an embryonic stage. We have now approximately more than 2,00,000 village Panchayats covering 98% of the rural population. The higher tier institutions number over 3,300 Panchayat Samitis and 231 Zilla Parishads.

In the States where adequate resources and power could be transferred to Panchayati Raj bodies, the system has shown results; elsewhere its performance has remained ineffective. Nonetheless, Panchayats have brought people closer to the administration. Growth of Panchayati Raj institutions has witnessed the emergence of younger and progressive leadership in our villages which is providing these bodies with new dynamics for development.

The other side of the picture in the Panchayat today is that it is more used as a pawn in local power politics at the cost of development programmes. This has resulted in unusual delay in holding elections in many places. These are unhappy trends. We have to get over our reluctance in decentralising power and authority if we have to ensure our democracy to grow from the grass-roots.

The effectiveness of Panchayati Raj bodies lies in their being viable. But financial instability is one of the serious setbacks these suffer from. Apart from depending on the State Governments for grants, the Panchayats should be able to tap their own tax resources and build up remunerative assets. For this they will have to be forward looking and not take a limited view in time and space.

Democracy is in essence the mobilisation of the physical, economic and spiritual resources of the entire population for the good of all. We have ushered in political democracy and passed through successive elections. Now we have to mobilise all our resources to energise the villages.

I consider the building-up of the infra-structure for greater agricultural productivity as of foremost importance. If only we could enlarge the small farmers' interest in progressive agriculture, through a network of co-operative multi-purpose farms, a major task would have been accomplished. To deal effectively with the problem of unemployment, more especially in the rural areas, I have already placed before the country a concrete programme of gainful employment through land colonies and I am happy that the Government have decided to set up pilot land colonisation projects in some States. The essence of this programme is that all available land will be put to agricultural activity with a vast network of cottage and small scale industries growing round them. I would urge the representatives of Panchayats to devote their attention to this problem of raising the efficiency of the agricultural sector.

Indian village has still the vitality and character which withstood long years of vicissitudes and weathered many a storm. I am sure with the right and sincere approach we should again be able to restore to Indian villages the place that is theirs. With zeal and dedication and the enthusiasm that you are showing, we should be able to reach the goal we have set before us.

New Role of Panchayati Raj

WHEN THE ALL India Panchayat Parishad requested me to lay the foundation-stone of the Balwantray Mehta Panchayat Bhavan, I readily agreed. I was prompted to do so for more than one reason. Firstly, you have named this Bhavan after the late Balwantray Mehta whom I had the privilege of knowing closely. He was a dynamic leader who fully believed in the concept of Panchayati Raj and who ceaselessly worked for the introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions throughout the country. Secondly, when I was informed of the broad tasks which the Bhavan had kept before itself, I was happy to know

Speech on laying the foundation-stone of the Balwantray Mehta Panchayat Bhavan, Delhi, November 26, 1973.

that I had been identically stressing on some of these aspects for achieving a total transformation of our rural India. We cannot forget the fact that more than 85 per cent of our population lives in rural India and the progress and prosperity of our nation depends entirely on how far we are able to improve the economic and social life of the rural masses.

While the concept of Panchayati Raj is not new to India, in the modern context it was Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, who clearly formulated the goals of the Panchayati Raj and what it stood for. All our talk of democracy or socialism will not have any meaning or content unless reconstruction starts from the bottom and from the grass-root level.

Your Parishad during the last few years of its existence has been trying to project the great role that the Panchayats can play in bringing about not merely rapid economic transformation but, equally important, bring about social change, without which the economic prosperity that we seek to achieve would be lop-sided and will not serve the real purpose of helping the small man to come into his own.

In spite of many short-comings, it is heartening to note that at present out of 5,75,000 villages in the country, in 2,17,000 villages there are Gram Panchayats, and there are 3,500 Panchayat Samities and 240 Zila Parishads. Your primary attempt should be to strengthen the Panchayats wherever they exist. While Central and State Governmental support may be welcome, Panchayats must learn not to depend unduly on support from any external agency. They should, instead, try to become self-reliant. Personally I visualise a time when the Panchayats will become so strong and stable that they will be able to undertake every task on behalf of the Panchayat and the community of people residing there. I also visualise a time would come when the Panchayats will become responsible for the collection of taxes and after keeping what they require for their own purposes, send the balance to the State or Central Government as the case may be, thus reducing the needless over-head expenses in the collection of revenue.

Apart from this, on such vital questions like production and procurement of foodgrains, Panchayats can play an active role, for they live in the actual areas where agricultural operations take place and are thus in a position to know how much can be produced or procured. The task of distribution can also be given to them. All this is possible only if the Panchayats avoid party politics, which is said to be so rampant at the Panchayat level today. As a matter of fact, our ideal should be that the Panchayat elections are fought not on party labels as far as possible. Even if they are fought on party labels by the members, once they are elected they must totally forget these party

appellations and strive to promote and work for the betterment of the people in the Panchayat area. Further, in the matter of planning too, I have been a strong advocate of decentralisation right down to the Panchayat level. All this can be attempted provided we have dedicated men and the right ideas percolate to the people who actually manage and govern the Panchayats.

Your Bhavan, I am sure, will help in training the people on understanding the true spirit of Panchayati Raj and thus ingrain in everybody the principles of self-reliance and democratic decentralisation which form the bedrock of Panchayati Raj.

Understanding Public Affairs

I AM VERY happy to go through the objectives of your Institute. There is an increasing need for institutions of your type where public men can come together and discuss problems of national and international importance. The strength of democracy depends on how far it is able to take into account the different view-points and bring about solutions that can be satisfactory to all concerned. There is need today for a dispassionate and objective analysis of the many social and economic problems and I am sure your Institute will provide the necessary forum for eminent men from different parts of the country and the world to address the people so that one can obtain a wider perspective.

I must particularly refer to one of your ideas—that of organising centres of social work for the improvement of the conditions of the weaker sections of society. The present generation has an immense responsibility to see that the most vulnerable and the weakest sections of our society are assured the basic economic wherewithal. It is the moral duty of all of us to see that those less fortunate are helped and assisted to come into their own. If we do not usher in an egalitarian order of society through peaceful means, I am afraid, things may assume such proportions when the change would result through compulsion and force. Let us see the realities of the situation. Let us fully understand the changes that are coming upon the people.

We have all hard work ahead as we have much lee-way to make up. We are trying to do in the course of a few decades what took centuries for many nations to achieve. We are an intelligent people,

and we seek orderly progress. There is nothing that a vigilant community, with a leadership committed to the highest standards of integrity and public morality, cannot achieve. The younger generation has a vital role in the shaping of such a community and such a leadership. We live today in what may be aptly described as the development era. My own trade union background has taught me the value of purposive action and collective effort. A will to overcome obstacles and forge unity among the people should be our watch-word. You are no doubt a body devoted to discussion and understanding of public affairs. I would urge you to study current problems in depth and evolve action-oriented programmes. While action without thought is dangerous, thought without action is futile. Institutions like yours have a duty to mould public opinion on right lines.

"Land of the Rising Sun"

IT HAS GIVEN me great pleasure to visit the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh, which has been aptly called the "Land of the Rising Sun" I am, indeed, deeply impressed by the beauty of the landscape and the simplicity and candour of the colourful people of this region. As a result of the reorganisation of the North-eastern India, the people of various ethnic and the linguistic origins in the region have been given a free hand to shape their destiny. The experience in the last two years has justified the confidence we have reposed in the people, and today we are happy that the reorganisation scheme has contributed in some measure to the strengthening of the federal structure of the country. The different ethnic and cultural groups have full freedom to work unitedly for their rapid progress as equal members of the great Indian family.

Today marks another milestone in the progress of Arunachal Pradesh. I deem it a great privilege to inaugurate your new Capital. Taking re-birth in the ruins of an ancient capital in the hoary past, the Capital complex is symbolic of the determination of the four hundred sixty-seven thousand people of Arunachal Pradesh to build a new life for themselves. There could not be a more attractive location for a capital than Itanagar. I hope, this step we are taking today will help in speeding up the progress of the area. I commend the

good work done by the engineers and workers in building this Capital in a record time. I am sure the entire project will be completed according to plan and thus fulfil the aspirations of the people of this region.

As one who has always taken a keen interest in the welfare of tribal people, I would like to share some of my thoughts with you on this occasion. While we should evolve positive measures to assist the tribal people, we should at the same time, be careful as not to create in them a feeling that they have succumbed to external pressures. They have their own civilization, values and norms. Their customs and traditions and the normal codes in many instances show that they possess a greater degree of community spirit and willing obedience to their own laws. A high degree of fair-play and justice prevails among these people. One of the misconceptions regarding the tribes which has conditioned the thinking of the so-called civilized man living in the modern world is to regard these people in the tribal areas as "primitive" and considering them as "backward". This tendency is not merely unfortunate but is also equally dangerous for it suggests a wrong attitude in our approach to the problem.

No doubt, official agencies have done or are trying to do their best to improve the lot of the tribal people, but I equally believe that it is here, more than in any other field, that the non-official organisations can also play a very significant role. It demands from the people working among them not merely the spirit of dedication but a tribal orientation. A tribal bias, as it is, means that we recognise and honour their way of doing things, not because it is old or picturesque but because it is theirs, and they have as much right to their own culture and religion as any one else in India. We must understand their language, and not only the language that is expressed in words but the deeper language of the heart. We will not make the tribes ashamed of their past or force a sudden break with it, but we should help them to build upon it and grow by a natural process of evolution. It does not mean a policy of mere preservation; it implies a constant development and change, a change that in time will bring immense enrichment, with an even closer integration with the mainstream of Indian culture and life. I am sure everyone of you who has been interested in the problem will have this "touch" and bias when dealing with the problem of our tribal brethren.

Education and Culture

Students and the Community

I AM EXTREMELY happy to be here this afternoon to inaugurate the Kerala University Union. I have always felt happy to be amidst the members of the rising generation and share some of my thoughts and also to learn from them about how they feel about various problems facing the country. This cross-fertilization of thoughts is both enlivening and stimulating and I have always welcomed such contacts as they are mutually advantageous.

I have always been emphasising that the students must have a sense of belonging to the community and not of being out of it. This should be possible only if they are able to have a practical outlook on life. Just now you mentioned about your Union establishing a small-scale industrial unit where students who need financial support will be employed in the manufacture of articles of common use like notebooks to the student community. This is a commendable idea and I would like to be kept informed of the progress you make in this direction.

In spite of two and half decades of political independence, we have yet to solve many of the baffling issues that confront us both in the economic and social spheres. Much has to be done and it is the responsibility of youth, who are to assume the leadership of the nation in the coming years, to bring about the radical transformation of our social and economic structure.

I would call upon the student community to study in depth the problems facing the country. When people come closer and discuss problems in an objective and open-hearted manner, they are likely to reach correct conclusions. Ways and means could then be found to solve issues which to an individual or a group of individuals may appear to be somewhat insurmountable.

As one who always believed in the formation of unions of people with a common interest, I welcome the idea of one organisation for all the students in the Universities without any political affiliations. Your primary attempt should therefore be to forge the unity of the different unions and see that active politics does not in any way divide you into small sectional groups. I am firmly of the view that students should shun active politics. In this the teachers should set an example by themselves keeping out of political entanglements.

Speech inaugurating the Kerala University Union, Trivandrum, February 1, 1972.

The primary duty of the students, is towards their studies. Many of you have entered the portals of the colleges and universities at considerable sacrifices to your parents. And if once you fully realise this, you will, I am quite sure, devote your undivided attention to the pursuit of scholarship.

It is a pity that sufficient attention is not paid to the supreme importance of character-building. I do not see any reason why parents and teachers should not bestow greater attention to this fundamental question of inculcating character and discipline in the minds of youth. The basic responsibility of instilling right values in the impressionable minds of children is that of teachers and parents, particularly the mother. If teachers and mothers discharge their duties well everything would be all right with the nation.

I believe the University Union could considerably help in fostering a spirit of national integration by being sufficiently broad-based. Please remember youth is the time for idealism and idealism is a potent motivating force. Normally it is expected that students would view things in a national perspective but to our dismay we find the student community also succumbs quite often to sectional and parochial pulls. Unless and until every student feels that he is an Indian first, last and always, there is no future for our country. Let us realise that we are all human beings and behave with dignity and decorum.

Our Great Craft Heritage

IT HAS BEEN a great pleasure for me to hand over to the ten master craftsmen assembled from all over India, National Awards in recognition of their contribution to the great craft heritage of our country. It has also given me a great pleasure to hand over eight National Awards to the representatives of handicrafts exporting firms who have shown outstanding performance in the field of handicrafts.

Handicrafts have played an important role in the economy of our country from time immemorial. The skills of Indian artisans have enriched the country and have brought fame to our craftsmen from all parts of the world. I am glad that the All India Handicrafts Board has taken upon itself the task of locating from the remotest corners of

Speech at the presentation of National Awards to Master Craftsmen and for outstanding export performance, New Delhi, February 8, 1972

India those master craftsmen who carry on the highest traditions of Indian craftsmanship and honouring them with National Awards.

From the earliest days of our National Movement, it has been realised that a concerted attempt has to be made to revitalise our traditional crafts. Indian handicraft products have today found a place of pride not only within the country but also in other parts of the world. It is gratifying to note that the exports of Indian handicrafts have increased several fold during the last decade. The importance of export effort cannot be over-emphasised, because increased exports not only generate additional employment opportunities but also bring valuable foreign exchange for our country.

We are specially indebted to our craftsmen for having kept alive the lofty tradition of our ancient crafts and also for their remarkable progressiveness in effecting product changes according to market requirements. I note with satisfaction the role played by the Handicrafts Board in the field of product and design development and the encouraging response of craftsmen to this.

While appreciating the efforts of exporters in expanding sales of Indian handicrafts in foreign countries, I have a feeling that there are still many lesser known crafts which require to be identified and developed. I would urge both the Handicrafts Board and exporters to give special attention to them.

I congratulate all of you who have received National Awards and express the hope that when you return to your place of work, you will vigorously carry on with your respective tasks of preserving the traditions of craftsmanship and finding new markets for them.

Education to be Job-oriented

THE D.A.V. MOVEMENT was an integral part of the national renaissance which the country witnessed during the eighties of the last century. Swami Dayanand was a revolutionary who brought about a great awakening in Indian society and the Arya Samaj founded by him created a radical change in the mental outlook of a large section of our people. On this auspicious occasion, let us remember with gratitude the services of Swami Dayanand and his disciples, Mahatma Hans

Speech declaring open the new building of the D.A.V. High School, Madras, February 19, 1972.

Raj and Lala Lajpat Rai and if we are to be true inheritors of the great legacy of such personages, we must emulate their noble lives which were full of patriotism and dedication to one's own country.

This School has been fortunate to have as its Principal, Kulapathi Sri S. Balakrishna Joshi. A simple and unostentatious person, we have very few examples of teachers like Balakrishna Joshi.

A good teacher is one who is able to endear himself to his students by infusing in them interest in their studies, a sense of respect, a discipline of the mind and a deep attachment to good behaviour. Today, unfortunately, the student community in many parts of the country is being misled into activities which are totally unconnected with the real purpose of education. It is a matter which should cause the deepest concern to all right-thinking people. One may not object to the legitimate demands of the students so long as these concern their academic problems. But what has become a common feature today is that issues unrelated to academic life and academic objectives often provide the pretext for students in engaging themselves in agitation. This leads one to ponder over the question how far our educational system as it is organised at present provides the necessary fulfilment in terms of students' later life and career.

I have always maintained that education to be meaningful in a vast country like ours with its many problems of development has to be primarily job-oriented. A student has to be made to feel a sense of deep personal involvement in what he learns so that he knows that after he leaves a school or college he is fully prepared to take up a job of his choice and face the problems of life with education. As one of the steps leading to such reorientation of education, I would commend the introduction of the semester system in our colleges. This, besides giving the students a great deal of initiative and self-confidence also helps them in deriving the maximum advantage of their course of study. In this system, there is established a personal relationship, a close association, between the teacher and the taught which is so much lacking in present day educational institutions. It further helps in judging and evaluating a student's real merit in a more scientific manner and on a surer footing.

I am an incorrigible optimist and I have every hope that our younger generation will rise to the occasion and meet the challenge posed to them. I have great pleasure in opening the new building of the D.A.V. High School. I wish the institution all success.

Duty by the Nation

I AM GRATEFUL to the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the Berhampur University for inviting me to deliver this year's Convocation Address. I have a personal involvement with this institution, because I can claim to be one of its products. My early education was in the Khallikote School and College and this education and the environment have in no small measure influenced the course of my career all these long years since. Looking back to those far-off days, I have nostalgic memories of my good teachers and the many acts of kindness I have received from them. Those were the days when there existed a close bond of affection between the teacher and the taught—a kind of a near family association—and the teacher was a most respected member of society. Pandit Ramalingam, the teacher of my boyhood days, has continued to inspire me in whatever capacity or position I have functioned. He was the embodiment of nobility and love, and we went to him without fear or inhibition. Our regard for the teacher was firmly rooted in the concept *Acharya devo bhava*.

Our aims and our objectives of those days were undoubtedly different from those of the present day. We had to struggle against an administration which could hardly be expected to be sympathetic towards our legitimate aspirations of building up a strong, self-conscious and self-developing society in which national sentiment would be the dominant consideration. Under the influence and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest son of India modern history has known, we attained independence and nationhood through a remarkable process of non-violence. The discipline and strict adherence to the principles of right conduct which he taught us stood us well throughout our freedom struggle.

The Indian society that we have been striving to build is one in which considerations of the general welfare should prevail over the individual rights, so that the greatest common good results in the sharing of economic prosperity. Social and economic inequality acts as an impediment to economic progress. We have a growing population and, with it, an endless increase in the burden on the State. We have vast resources which properly exploited and properly utilised will go a long way in making us self-reliant and self-sufficient in practically all spheres of national requirements. In the early years of independence, we necessarily depended on outside help for our industrial

development and in the pursuit of improved methods and means for achieving higher technical knowledge and skills. Our workers, engineers and factory managers are today proving that we are capable of developing techniques and mechanisms suited to our requirements. A strong national conscience and an abiding faith in our own ability to achieve results are the surest basis of success.

I am aware that some of the causes for student unrest stem from a lack of proper appreciation, on the part of those in authority, of the present-day needs of education, especially when one considers its ultimate goals. We have also to take into account the quality of teachers and their capacity to influence and promote initiative and objectivity. Academic freedom and academic standards are pre-requisites of good education. While political awareness and political consciousness are an essential part of education, the students and the teachers alike must eschew political activity; otherwise, the values and objectives of education will become distorted and disorganized. The High School and the College provide the most exciting period in the development of personality. Given the right environment, and with teachers who will consider it their primary pre-occupation to work for the cause of better education and better standards, I have full faith that the student community will develop themselves into worthy citizens.

We have all hard work ahead. We are an intelligent people, and we seek orderly progress. There is nothing that a vigilant community, with a leadership committed to the highest standards of integrity and public morality, cannot achieve. The younger generation has a vital role in the shaping of such a community and such a leadership. We live today in what may be aptly described as the development era. We are capable of ordering our own affairs. We are currently witnessing a revolution in our agriculture. An industrial revolution must necessarily follow, and, here, the State, the workers, the professional managers and the entrepreneurs have all a common purpose. Sharing of progress is more rewarding than sharing of wealth : the former concerns general welfare and has, therefore, lasting values; the latter is transitory and is of significance only to the individual. My own trade union background has taught me the value of collective effort. A will to do things and do it in such a way that you achieve positive results should be our watch-word.

Builders of Future India

IT HAS ALWAYS been my great pleasure to be in the midst of the rising generation—the makers and builders of future India and the world—and more so on a happy and festive occasion such as this. I see on the glowing and cheerful faces of you young men and women, donning the gown and the hood, who are about to leave the portals of this University, after several years of hard work, study and learning, a mixed feeling of sorrow and joy. Sorrow because you are leaving the sheltered life of the University, joy because you will make your own world of work, joy and happiness. In making this world you have all the certainties and uncertainties that our motherland has today. Let me tell you very frankly that the building of your future is tied up with the future of the country, which has chosen the path of socialism—planned economic development, peaceful co-existence and secular democracy. In strengthening these values of life you will be laying a firm foundation of your own bright and prosperous future.

I hope many of you, passing graduates, will be known for your discoveries and inventions. But the University has to train year after year such cadres for building a free India in which want, squalor, ignorance and disease must be unknown. In this great task of cadre making the teacher has a vital role to play, “for”, as the Radhakrishnan Commission has said, “the teacher is the corner-stone of the arch of education; he is no less, if not more, than books and curricula, building equipment, administration and the rest”.

This is all the more true today than ever before because science—physical, biological, medical and social—and technology have become the prerequisites of economic development. Let us not forget that knowledge is not for its own sake, but for bringing positive benefits to society and reducing the drudgery and monotony of life. The university, as an eminent educationist has pointed out, has to discharge its functions in a society which is pragmatic, opportunistic, materialistic and fundamentally anti-intellectual. It is here that social sciences have to play their creative role. But social sciences cannot grow in ivory towers. As Oskar Lange, in one of his books, has stressed, “the fate of Political Economy is today intrinsically connected with the working-class movement and with the construction and development of a socialist society”. What is true of economics is true of any other social science. In the most important task of eradicating

Speech at convocation and inauguration of the Golden Jubilee Year of the Lucknow University, Lucknow, March 9, 1972.

poverty from our sacred land, you graduates, belonging to physical, biological, medical and social sciences as well as those specialising in humanities have to play a creative role, not as spectators but as makers of history—which is emerging out of our growing dams, factories, farms and other sites of nation-building.

Now the country has pledged to build a self-reliant, self-sustained economy which is not possible, unless we reduce our dependence on foreign “know-how”. Therefore, you young friends must be prepared to venture and risk even if there are hardships and losses in the short period, because without vision, risk, adventure and sacrifice no nation can be built. For the happiness and prosperity of the future generation you have to make sacrifices, as the older generation did for you.

There is a feeling that we have more universities than we need. I believe that looking at the vastness of the country and the population there are too few universities in the country. They look ‘numerous’ because primary education has not been universalized and secondary education has not been expanded to the extent universalization of primary education would demand. In free India the gates of the University must be open for all those who *deserve* and *seek* higher education. For the deserving students lack of means must not be allowed to be a hinderance.

If science and technology have to be taken to the common peasants, which the extension of Green Revolution demands, and the productivity of factory workers **has to be increased**, adult illiteracy must be wiped out before the end of the ‘seventies’. I hope the Central and State Governments will devise a suitable scheme of social service in which the energies of our increasing millions of graduates will be properly used for spreading adult education in the villages and the cities.

Throughout my life I have been a trade unionist. Therefore, when the teachers and employees form unions for the protection and improvement of their conditions of service, I welcome their organisations. But these unions must desist from making the universities a market place. Students must participate in activities which lead to the formation and maturity of their political views; but they should never participate in *active* politics, which would result in the sacrifice of their study hours, because the first and the last duty of a student is to study, to study, and to study. But I repeat that students should take a scientific and constructive interest in politics.

Recently a new demand, I believe, emanating from French students’ agitation, has been made on the Indian Universities—“students’ participation in University Management”. Every slogan has a historical context. In India the question of students’ participation in educational management cannot be fruitfully understood and implemented

unless the areas of participation are clearly demarcated in the light of the students' consciousness, experience and the traditions of a given University. Therefore, it is a matter of varying experiences and there cannot be a rigid formula. But it is a part of preparing the students for future life that they are trained in the art of self-government.

It has been often brought to my notice that while the demand for the participation of the Junior partners, the students, is being raised, the enactments are increasingly depriving the Senior partners, the teachers, from participating in managing the universities. Democracy is to grow from the universities. No section of the University population should have a sense of frustration and alienation on account of the absence of opportunities for participation in the university governance at one level or the other. This will be possible if the old-fashioned faculties in India are reorganised into smaller ones on rational principles; the Departmental Committees are introduced in which all members of the Department take part and the Executive Council consists of new faces. This is in accordance with the highest academic traditions.

Universities must be allowed to function as schools of democracy. University autonomy does not mean a state within a state. The Governor-Chancellor must be left free to act in his own discretion, and not on the advice of his Council of Ministers, so far as the University affairs are concerned. As Governor he is the head of the State; as Chancellor he is the head of the University. Therefore, his is the most appropriate office to maintain close relationship between the Government and the University. The real enemies of university autonomy seem to be the teacher-politicians and the politician-academics. I have always said that universities must be protected from them if the youth has to be trained in an atmosphere of scientific temper.

Here it will not be out of place if I emphasize the role of teachers in the formation of the character, conduct and integrity of our young men and women in the universities. They have a right to improve their conditions of service, through constitutional methods. With this end in view their local, regional, national and international unions are also welcome. But our teachers carry heavy responsibilities in moulding the intellectual and social life of the student population. It is, in fact, they who produce our administrators, politicians, doctors, engineers, executives and their own class of professors. In the ultimate analysis, the key to the future of our younger generation is in the hands of teachers. Therefore, in their recruitment and selection utmost care has to be taken regarding their competence, continuous and sustained work, and commitment to the profession. Such a complicated and

delicate job cannot be left to the local laymen. Therefore, as it has been recommended by the Education Commission, under the Chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari, the Selection Committees should consist of academicians; and their relationship with the Syndicates or University Executive Councils should be redefined; and in the event of a difference of opinion between them the Chancellor should act as umpire.

I have said all this because this University stands on a threshold of an unprecedented expansion while it celebrates its Golden Jubilee. No amount of financial assistance for opening new branches of studies, strengthening the existing ones, enriching libraries and laboratories will create an atmosphere in which the Senior and Junior partners of the University will develop a sense of belonging, except that of a new system of personnel administration. Let me wish that under the dynamic leadership of your Vice-Chancellor, the Golden Jubilee Year will begin a new era of more fruitful and productive work than so far.

I would like in this context to emphasise that everyone should treat parochialism, casteism, racialism and communalism not only as enemies of our country but of the entire world. Students should develop a high sense of perspective and acquire a spirit of introspection and retrospection every day of their lives so that they may remedy the shortcomings and prove themselves worthy of the great traditions set in the past by sages, saints and statesmen of our country.

Youth is the time when great virtues of brotherliness and fellowship with all could be imbibed. What better place can there be than the universities to train the minds of the rising generation in constructive thinking?

Graduates of the year, remember that without hard and sustained work, dedicated zeal and fervour and above all without collective discipline and national character realization of our cherished goals will neither be smooth nor easy. We have won a war, that was imposed on us by an unscrupulous neighbour. Our brave soldiers, sailors and airmen fought well, because the whole nation stood behind them like one man. National discipline and spirit of unity are to be strengthened, specially because of the dangers that lie ahead.

Therefore, graduates of the year, remember this clearly, there are no easy steps to paradise nor will *Manna* fall from Heaven. It is up to you by sheer hard work and initiative to improve your lot and that of the country—socially, culturally, and economically. I wish you godspeed in your endeavours.

Books for All

I AM VERY happy to be present here today to inaugurate an event, which is the first of its kind ever to be organised in our country. The World Book Fair, which, incidentally coincides with the 25th Anniversary of our Independence, is one among the many well-considered programmes arranged by the Union Ministry of Education and Social Welfare as part of the celebration of the International Book Year. It is very gratifying that the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Association in India is collaborating with the National Book Trust which has been charged with the task of organising this Fair. The involvement of an international organisation, of the private and public sectors in our country and of the Union Government in this event is of considerable significance and provides an example of the kind of co-operative effort, which our country believes, should govern our conduct of human affairs.

The appearance of books in printed form, following the invention of printing, marked a momentous breakthrough in the history of human communication. The use of the printed book, as a medium of transmission of human thought had a revolutionary impact on society, breaking down barriers and facilitating a cross-fertilisation of ideas on a global scale. The printed word became the vehicle of thought and understanding and knit the countries of the world closer together. It was one of the earliest devices of mass communication and has, of course, since been followed by other media, which are growing in scope and diversity. As mass media spread and developed in a variety of ways, fears were expressed whether these would obliterate the place of the book in the life of man, but these fears have been falsified and books have retained their enduring place. We have to consider how books can be harnessed and mobilised to enlarge the frontiers of understanding and bring together, in a spirit of harmony, the people of a divided and distracted world. It is here that Book Fairs have their crucial role to play. There are, today, countries well ahead in the field of book production and promotion, which have fully exploited the resource of books. To them, such Fairs give the opportunity to select the best of what is produced. There are, again countries, in a state of growth and transition, which lag very much behind in the field, and to them, such book fairs are an aid towards increasing the scope of communication and improving the nature of such communication. The most important contribution,

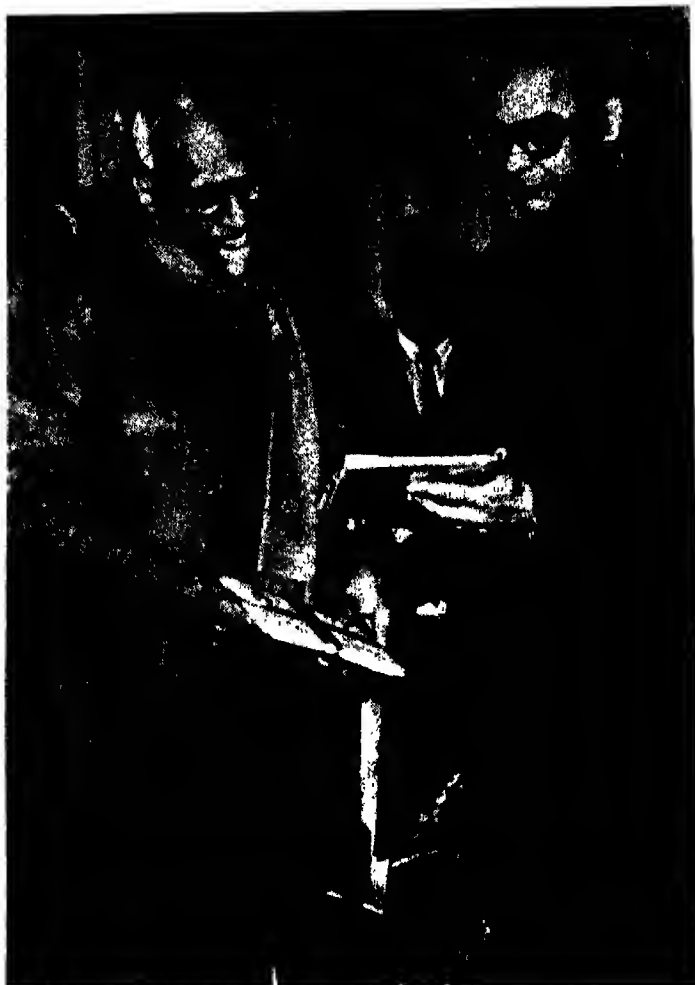
however, which a World Book Fair makes, is that it cuts across national linguistic barriers and, among other things, lays bare in one place the masterpieces of mighty minds of diverse lands in diverse tongues. It is salutary that in a shrinking world, where there is a call for increasing inter-dependence, book fairs should rove round the world and different countries should have their eyes opened to the world's output.

Book-promotion and the creation of book-mindedness have an immediate relevance to our country. As the world's largest democracy, pledged to uphold the democratic way of life, India cannot afford to view with complacency the ignorance and illiteracy which stalk the land. The problem of illiteracy in our country is phenomenal, with more than 60 per cent of her 550 millions being illiterate. On the one hand, there has been a vast increase in the number of our universities and colleges. On the other, there has been a greater increase in population with the result that we face a paradoxical situation where a progressive growth in literacy is accompanied by an increasing rate of illiteracy. Now, it need hardly be stated that the effective functioning of democracy is inconceivable without an educated public, capable independent choice and decision. It is only by providing books, libraries and education that growing democracies can be strengthened. The mode of publishing in India should be directed, first and foremost, towards the eradication of illiteracy.

I have mentioned books, libraries and education, but all the three should go together. It is not easy to educate people without books. It is less easy to make education yield lasting results without a proper complement of libraries providing free access to books to literate persons. The significance of a large number of adequately equipped libraries, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. They are a necessary aid to educational advantage. Besides, they give the needed boost and are a spur and fillip to the publishing industry. The advance registered by the publishing industry in the developed world are partly due to the bulk purchases of books made by the public libraries in the concerned countries.

As things stand at present in our country, the book has yet to carve its place in our scheme of things. It does not figure in the shopping list of even the well-to-do who would rather spend their money on cars or carpets, on expensive clothing or electrical gadgets. It is true, however, that books are expensive and if their price is to be brought down, they should be printed in large numbers. In turn, the print order can be increased only if books sell more. But they do not because they are beyond the means of the average reader. There is a perplexing situation and poses a tremendous challenge to

*Releasing a book titled
"Our Freedom Movement"
brought out by the Publica-
tions Division in New Delhi
on January 30, 1973.*



*Inaugurating an exhibition
of documents relating to
freedom struggle at the
National Archives building
in New Delhi on February
9, 1973.*





*The Chiefs of Staff of Army, Navy and Air Force making a farewell call
in New Delhi on August 19, 1974.*

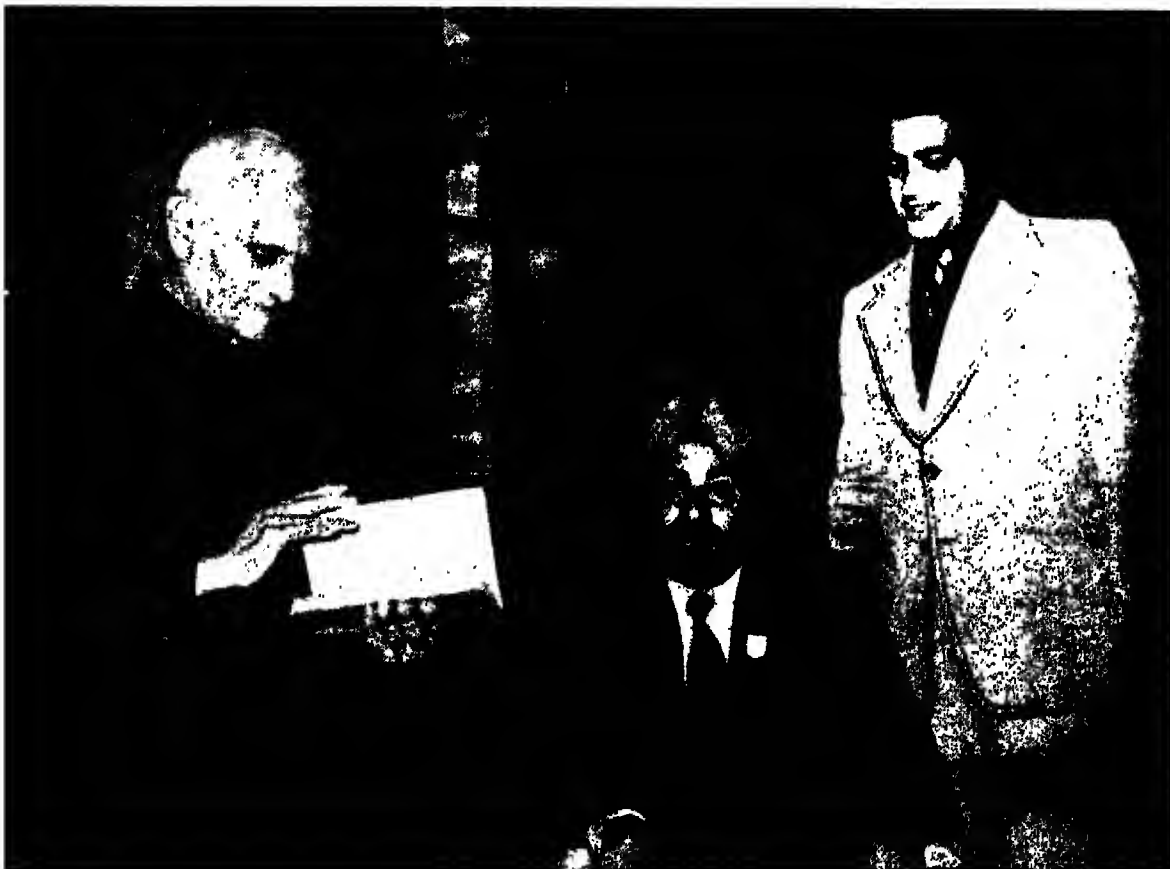
*Shri G. S. Dhillon, Speaker of Lok Sabha presenting a plaque on behalf of the members of
Parliament at the Central Hall of Parliament in New Delhi on August 22, 1974.*





*Presenting Urvashi award to film actress T. Sarada for her performance in Malayalam film **Swayamvaram** in the twentieth national awards for films, 1972 in New Delhi on December 17, 1973.*

*Releasing the autobiography in Hindi of the well known mountaineer, Major H. P. S. Ahluwalia, **Aasman Aur Bhi Hain**, in New Delhi on February 23, 1974.*





Inaugurating the World Book Fair in New Delhi on March 18, 1972.

organisations like the National Book Trust. It should work in collaboration with private publishers and step in and lend a hand, if the financial resources of the latter are found inadequate. It should be its aim to create an atmosphere where people are induced to buy and read books in an increasing measure. Organisation of book exhibitions, seminars and discussions where writers and publishers can meet and exchange ideas and pool their experience on writing, translating, publishing and distributing books and identifying areas where subsidising books could help readers to become conscious of the wealth of information available to them are some of the tasks to which the Trust should address itself.

I note that an international seminar on "Books for Millions" and a National Writers' Camp are to form part of this Fair. The written word and the spoken word must complement each other. While the former has the capacity to perpetuate knowledge, the latter tends to strike sparks from bright minds and leads to new dimensions of thought and expression. It is the duty of writers and publishers not merely to increase the number and output of books, but to aim at quality and originality. It is essential that repetition or duplication of material is kept at a minimum. At this point, I would refer to the great success of the paperback as a medium of bringing books within the reach of the common man. Recent experiments in using the paperback as a nucleus for the common man's library, by publishing the masterpieces of literature and non-fiction in this reasonably priced edition might be profitably tried out in developing countries like ours where libraries are few and the individual has to depend on his own resources.

If the book is to take its rightful place in our country, for indeed it has to, in the context of the Government's decision to produce books on a large scale in all our languages at every level of education, it has to be subsidised. The Government should enter into the picture and share with the publishers the responsibility for book promotion. Again, subsidised books should not be confined to strictly educational purposes, but should extend to entertainment as well and cover the publication of translated versions of the literature of the various regions of the country and of the various countries of the world.

Educating the Masses

A VIGILANT AND informed public opinion is the bed rock of democracy and libraries have a crucial role to play in promoting enlightenment and understanding among the people. No democratic system of government can function efficiently if the citizens are not educated. It is therefore natural for any democratic system of government to make adequate provision for the proper education of its people.

In India, we have had a great tradition of learning and literary activity. From ancient times our saints and savants have devoted a considerable part of their life in producing literature covering all branches of human knowledge. This tradition has been maintained throughout the long history of our country. Although, the portals of our great libraries at Nalanda, Taxila and elsewhere were open to scholars within and outside the country in ancient India, during the middle ages these were accessible only to the elite and the nobility. It is during the recent times that these barriers have been destroyed and libraries have been organised for the general use of the population.

After independence the library movement was given an impetus by the Government of India and the various State Governments with the result that we have now some sort of a library system operating in a number of States. But unfortunately due to a number of reasons, it has not yet achieved the form and shape of a well planned and all embracing system of public libraries. It is, therefore, a happy augury that the All-India Library Conference is meeting in Delhi along with the World Book Fair this year, which has been declared by UNESCO as the International Book Year, to take stock of the position.

We have now in our country, besides the university libraries, special libraries run by various governments, semi-government and private organisations, but we have yet to develop a proper system of libraries for the rural and semi-urban areas. Even in the urban areas, library facilities are not adequate. I would like to have, in the words of Dr. Ranganathan, the eminent Librarian and the pioneer Library Scientist of our country, 'for each reader a book and for each book a reader.'

In bringing about a revolution in the field of library development, proper library legislation is a very important factor. But only four States in India have yet adopted a suitable library legislation. I understand, sometime back the Ministry of Education circulated a

Model Public Libraries Bill. I would like the State Governments to pass library legislation on the lines suggested in the Model Bill with suitable modifications according to local needs.

Libraries cannot function properly and efficiently unless these are stocked with good books. It is therefore essential that steps be taken to produce suitable books for all types of readers in various Indian languages. I am sure this aspect of the library problem will receive adequate attention at the hands of educationists, publishers and others engaged in the task of production of reading material, now gathered in Delhi.

I would like to suggest that apart from public libraries there should also be text-book libraries opened in all big villages, twons and cities of the country. There may be more than one such libraries in big cities where students could spend much of their time and make use of these books. The opening of such text-book libraries will not only be a great help to the weaker and needy section of our student population, but they will also enable students to spend much of their time in a more profitable manner and if we open such libraries in very large numbers, much of the energy and enthusiasm of our young boys and girls which is now being dissipated in undesirable activities will be properly harnessed and channelised not only for their own good, but for the good of the society as a whole.

While the governments, at the Centre and in the States should certainly do their part of duty in opening and maintenance of libraries, I feel it is a task in which all sections of our society, should participate. I would, therefore, like the industrial houses to open a library in each one of their factories for the use of the workers employed therein. Likewise, I would also like the various charitable trusts to set apart, a part of their budgets for opening and maintaining libraries. I will even suggest that our religious endowments like the temples and the *waqfs* and other such institutions should make a provision in their budgets for maintaining such libraries because to my mind there can be no greater service to a man than to make him literate and educated.

I take this opportunity of inviting all sections of my countrymen to join in this great and fascinating task of nation-building and help in providing free library service for all throughout the length and breadth of the country. This is as important a task as that of providing food, clothing and shelter. It is only through the medium of libraries that we can educate our masses and make them active participants in the affairs of the nation, thus giving a meaning and content to our profession of democracy, socialism and secularism.

Sanskrit is a Unifying Force

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in being present here in the midst of this galaxy of eminent teachers and scholars in Sanskrit from different parts of the world. Sanskrit in India has had the utmost influence on the people of the soil and moulded their ideals and outlook from the earliest times not unlike Greek or Latin that have made great nations, in the Western world.

The discovery of Sanskrit, in all its beauty of form and expression by scholars from the West gave a new impetus to its study in the recent centuries. It is a matter of great joy to us to see how warmly Sanskrit is hailed by so many scholars far away from the shores of India, from different universities and oriental institutions.

Sanskrit literature yields new and ever new thought and has explanations for obscure points awaiting clarification in almost every domain. Sanskrit, as we all know, has been serving the cause of intellectual growth for thousands of years. Its potentialities in delineating high philosophical and scientific thoughts, its excellences in poetry, fine arts, architecture and all that may be called aesthetic experience are universally acknowledged as potent factors of intellectual integration.

The acquaintance of European scholars with this language played a significant role in the evolution of comparative and descriptive linguistic studies and research in the West. We are all grateful to scholars like Sir William Jones, Bopp Brugmann and others who contributed to the discovery of Indo-European family of languages to which Sanskrit belongs.

As a matter of fact all aspects of human behaviour are duly represented in Sanskrit literature. Manu, Kautilya, Vatsyayana, Vyasa, Caraka, Susruta, Vagbhata, Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskara, Bhoja—these are some of the few names famous for their contributions to the various fields of human knowledge like jurisprudence, polity, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and architecture. The metaphysical speculations of Kanada centre around the idea of combination and divisibility of atoms. We are indebted for all this to the most ancient *Rishis*, the medieval *Acharyas* and an unbroken succession, of distinguished *pandits* who have to this day kept up all these prodigies. When we talk of the contribution of Sanskrit to various disciplines we must not forget that all such contributions imply

potentiality for assimilation of ideas from others as well. Sanskrit has all along assimilated quite a lot from other world languages and literature. I wonder if through your contributions some machinery could be evolved for better inflow and outflow of information and research material of this continuing process of intellectual exchange between Sanskrit and other languages and literatures of the world.

Both as a language and as a source of intellectual inspiration, Sanskrit continues to be one of the most important media of communication. Sanskrit is still spoken and understood by a large number of scholars in India and elsewhere. Creative literature is still being produced in Sanskrit. Quite a few journals, weeklies and dailies are being published in Sanskrit in different parts of the country. Sanskrit happens to be a medium of instruction and examination in many Universities and Institutions including the *Vidyapeethas* under the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan. This uninterrupted continuity of the Sanskrit tradition is indeed a matter of great pride for all of us. Let us give due recognition to this wonderful cultural heritage and pass it on to posterity if possible with added embellishment.

Once again, I would make an earnest appeal to the distinguished scholars kindly to exchange their views about contributions of Sanskrit language and literature and also to suggest measures for strengthening this common bond of unity of the world community both as a language and as the living source of intellectual inspiration.

Towards a National Character

AT THE OUTSET I must congratulate the organisers for arranging this important Seminar on National Character. Acharya Tulsi's *Anuvrat* Movement aims at bringing about a moral reawakening among the people. This movement emphasises that real happiness and effective progress can be attained only by man looking inward and building his own character. More than at any time, this has become absolutely necessary, for it is increasingly realised that whatever progress one may attain in the material world, it cannot produce satisfactory solution to ills and tensions that plague society. We may build bridges and dams, produce more food, embark on large-scale

Speech while inaugurating an *Anuvrat* Symposium on National Character, New Delhi, July 30, 1972.

planning. All this can yield positive results only if man—who is the centre of all things—conditions himself properly.

In the freedom movement, millions and millions of our countrymen responded to the call of Gandhiji and were prepared to make any sacrifices. There was unity, determination and integrity and this contributed to the success of our national movement. A nation's character is not something absolute but is the sum total of the individual character of its people. If each and every citizen in a country has character, dedication and a spirit of tolerance, it is this that will provide the basis for national progress. Heredity and environment contribute, in a large measure, to development and sustenance of this national character. India with its glorious cultural heritage has produced an unbroken line of seers and saints who have illumined its national consciousness. The tradition that they have bequeathed will ever remain a perennial source of inspiration for our people to lead a life of virtue and service. I still vividly remember what I was taught as a child of five or six. "If wealth is lost, nothing is lost; if health is lost, everything is lost." Every syllable of this I consider to be true.

If any nation is to become strong, not merely politically or economically but in its totality, it has to be on the basis of the character of its people. We talk of many nations making such rapid advances in spite of the difficulties they faced and in spite of their being totally mutilated by the ravages of war. We often talk of the progress of Japan and Germany. It is not merely the scientific talent of their people or the technical know-how or the infra-structure that have helped those countries to occupy a pre-eminent position in the world, but it is because of the character of their people and their readiness to sacrifice. I, for one, firmly believe that we in India are no less intelligent, no less hardworking and no less painstaking. But, at the same time, the impact of the progress that we have made in different directions is considerably reduced by the crisis in character that we see around us. There is a big gap between our precepts and our practice. One often hears of complaints of corruption in every form, black-marketing, adulteration of food, evasion of taxes and bribery. All these, in their own way, thwart our efforts at economic development.

Character, in my opinion, is not merely the pursuit of certain religious faiths or practice of rituals but of strictest adherence to true and ethical values which are fundamental to all religions. In this connection, the primary responsibility of inculcating character and discipline rests with the mothers and teachers who have to play a crucial role in influencing the young minds. We cannot merely

preach these things but must practice them in our own lives. Religion, no doubt, plays its part to keep us in the straight and narrow path of truth and virtue. I am often pained and baffled to note how in the name of religion, intolerance and violence are practised. All religions preach the same fundamental values of truth, charity, love and tolerance, but what we see in reality is that the followers go against these very concepts. I firmly believe that humanism is the highest form of religion. What difference is there between man and man? Are we to discriminate solely on the grounds of the colour of the skin, of the language one speaks, of the religion one professes? It is the responsibility of all men of religion, be they Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Parsees or Jains, to inculcate a spirit of understanding, tolerance and charity among their followers. Throughout the ages, India has attached primacy to spiritual values, and our emphasis has always been on the universal man. The great patriot-saint of India, Swami Vivekananda, proclaimed: "Man-making is my religion." Elsewhere he says, "If one-millionth part of the men and women who live in this world simply sit down and for a few minutes say: 'You are all God, O ye men, and O ye animals, and living beings, you are all the manifestations of the one living Deity!' the whole world will be changed in half an hour".

Dissemination of Knowledge

I AM VERY happy to inaugurate the Madras Kendra of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. These Kendras have now taken the form of a movement to encourage systematic study and research and to spread better education. Each important language in our country has got a history of its own, and its origin and development are always subjects of fascinating study. Through its literature is unfolded the history of the people speaking the language, their culture, their customs and traditions, habits and ways of life. Thus, Tamil stands quite unique among the world's languages for length and continuity of life. Its votaries are not confined to India but are spread out even in countries beyond. It is a language of rare beauty both in its expression and its power of comprehension. The great Tamil classic "*Kural*" is a complete code of con-

Speech inaugurating the New Building of the Madras Kendra of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Madras, September 2, 1972.

duct for human behaviour. Savants all over the world consider it as one of the highest and purest forms of human thought. Whether in history or in folk-lore, or in drama or in music, the Tamil language has an enviable treasure.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan fulfils an essential function in the country's emotional integration. As part of the programme in this most useful pursuit, I would suggest that in each regional centre of the Bhavan, special emphasis should be laid on the collection of authentic versions of the learned works in the language of that region. These may then be translated into other regional languages so that quite apart from their literary merit, the information and knowledge contained in them would become available to the wider community of people. This will enable people belonging to the different regions to know and understand each other better. This may bring about a meeting of the minds more readily than through committees and conferences. Here is a programme in which more than the Government, voluntary organisations like the Bhavan can play a purposeful role.

To work hard and to strive for the good of one's own fellow-beings is, I have always considered, the best form of worship to God. I am a firm believer in the religion of humanism. A spirit of tolerance and mutual esteem, a total rejection of all forms of discrimination and, above all, a spirit of service and dedication should guide our conduct in dealing with human affairs.

Importance of Mother Tongue

IT IS A great pleasure for me to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Andhra Education Society.

I am happy that the Society in Delhi is functioning as a centre of India that have contributed to the rich mosaic of India's cultural heritage. As Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore aptly described, the various languages of India are like the different petals of a rose. The individual development of every petal enhances the beauty of the flower as a whole.

I am gratified to know that you are implementing three-language formula in your educational curricula. I am convinced that the only

Speech inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Andhra Education Society, New Delhi, October 29, 1972.

solution to our language problem lies in the whole-hearted implementation of this formula. Every student must learn his own mother-tongue, a link language and one international language during his educational career. Gandhiji visualised the growth of all Indian languages. He was one of those who advocated the use of mother-tongue for imparting education. He wanted a language which would form a link connecting the different regions and which would at the same time remove our dependence on a foreign language. Whether it is called Hindi or Hindustani, Gandhiji wanted it to be symbol of our national culture and self-respect. I firmly believe that Hindi is bound to become the *lingua-franca* of the country. But this task of propagation of Hindi requires profound mutual understanding, infinite patience and perseverance.

I would also like to add here that we should not neglect the study of English. It is an international language of great merit and also the language of modern science and scientific thought. We must use our knowledge of English to enrich our own languages. It is only by hard and sustained work that we can make our languages serve the needs of a modern, progressive and forward-looking society. Without wasting our time in meaningless language controversies, we must concentrate on the constructive work of developing our languages.

I would like on this occasion to say a few words about a matter which is uppermost in my mind. I refer to the student unrest and its tragic consequences. Unfortunately, today the student community in many parts of the country is being misled into activities which are totally unconnected with the real purpose of education. It is a matter which should cause the deepest concern to all right-thinking people. One may not object to the legitimate demands of the students so long as these concern academic problems. But what has become a regrettable feature today is that issues unrelated to the academic life and academic objectives often provide the pretext for students in engaging themselves in agitations. I would like to emphasise that while taking an active interest in politics, students should not take active part in active politics. They should follow closely the trends in national and international politics so that they may be well-informed but plunging in active politics may prove disastrous to their educational career.

I would like to appeal to politicians and political parties to take a long range view of the problem and not to be obsessed with the immediate present. It is their duty to help the system run smoothly. If they cannot do so, let them at least leave the universities and colleges to function in peace and not to try to convert them into areas of discontent deliberately fostered for narrow and short-term political ends. Anyone

who is interested in meaningful education for his children should treat educational institutions as sacred places having, perhaps, the most effective influential role in shaping the future of our young men and women and through them the destiny of the nation.

I would call upon students to strengthen forces of democracy and create an atmosphere conducive to national development. Indulging in violence and anti-social behaviour can only make matters worse. Violence is the very antithesis of the democratic way of life. Problems can be solved only through peaceful and constitutional methods, through discussion and persuasion.

I hope, in the educational institutions under the care of the Andhra Education Society, every care will be taken to avoid pitfalls and train students on right lines. I believe, the parents and teachers together can help in meeting the problems posed by student unrest. A good teacher is one who, like the *Acharyas* of old, is able to endear himself to his students by infusing in them, apart from the necessary interest in their studies, a sense of respect, a discipline of the mind and a deep attachment to good behaviours.

I am very happy that the Andhra Education Society is devoting attention to pre-school education also. You can be proud of the fact that you have one of the best equipped nursery schools in the area. Teachers and mothers can really lay the foundation of good character in the impressionable minds of young children. I would appeal to teachers and parents, particularly mothers, to meet from time to time and discuss how best their wards could be trained. If parents and teachers discharge their functions properly our future is assured.

Distinguished Sportsmen

I AM HAPPY to be here among our distinguished sportsmen who have won the Arjuna Awards for the years 1970 and 1971 in recognition of their outstanding performance. First, I wish to congratulate them on their meritorious performance and express the hope that the awards they are receiving today will spur them to still greater effort in the years to come and to scale new heights of achievement.

Speech while presenting "Arjuna Awards" to outstanding Sportsmen, New Delhi, November 16, 1972.

The Arjuna Awards, instituted by the Government of India in 1961 to honour our country's outstanding sportsmen, are not only symbolic of the great importance we attach to the promotion of games and sports and physical education, but are also a standing reminder of the key place sports have occupied in our tradition from the days of the distant past. Our ancient sports masters were not only gifted sportsmen, but also men of learning as well as saints and men of religious wisdom. Now, when we emphasize that sports and games should be a part of formal, academic education, we are only restating an old truth.

If our country has to come up in the field of games and sports and rank among the top nations, it has to increase considerably the coverage in the field and make provision for a large number of play-fields, stadia, gymnasia, swimming pools and for their maintenance and utilisation. The dearth of expert coaches is a handicap but I hope the National Institute of Sports, Patiala will meet this demand in course of time. It would be worthwhile also to draw on the services of all sportsmen past their competitive age, whether employed in schools, colleges or elsewhere and provide them with some essential training and persuade them to work as coaches during their spare time.

I would urge that the lack of resources that we require should not be allowed to stand in the way of our promoting nation-wide sports consciousness. We should also examine whether such facilities as exist are being fully availed of. There are, besides, types of sports activities which do not demand large outlays either in terms of equipment or of space. There is a great deal that Government, voluntary organisations, sports enthusiasts and practising sportsmen can do to popularise sports and ensure mass participation in this exciting field. I am glad to know that the Ministry of Education is making efforts to introduce rural sports even in remote parts of the country to spot talent and encourage large-scale participation of our rural folk in sports activities.

While Government should do all it can to provide financial assistance to the promotion of sports, the main responsibility in this field falls on the Sports Federations. I would appeal to them today to bend their energies and resources to the utmost in making sports an integral part of our national life. It is up to them to provide the needed organisational structure which will aid in the growth of sports-mindedness in the country and the popularisation of sports on a large scale. There should be complete co-operation between the various Sports Federations and the All-India Council of Sports in the formulation of national sports policy and its implementation. We

have a great lee-way to make up and it is only by determined efforts of all concerned that our country can attain its rightful place in the world of sports. Where India's honour and prestige are concerned, there is absolutely no room for any narrow parochial considerations.

I am happy that in this function, the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Trophy for the best University in the field of sports for the year 1971-72 has also been awarded to the University of Delhi, who have won this trophy for the fourth time since it was instituted in '56-57. I offer my congratulations to the University and its players.

Example Worth Following

I AM VERY happy to be here once again and present the National Awards to the outstanding teachers of the year. In honouring the teachers present here today, the nation is registering its deep feelings of gratitude and paying its homage to its mentors. The award, though negligible in monetary terms, is however symbolic and represents the countrywide recognition of the meritorious service rendered by the members of the teaching profession in the face of several strains and hardships.

The record and performance of the awardees are an eye-opener to what conscientious service can contribute towards the achievement of constructive results. They are a pointer to the great tasks that lie ahead in the field of education and the heavy responsibilities which they imply for the members of the teaching community.

We are poised today in our country for a leap forward. Plans for a radical transformation in the social and economic life of our people are on the anvil. It is clear beyond all doubt that the significance and purport of the changes we envisage can be grasped only through the rapid and universal spread of education. It falls on the members of our teaching community to bring home to the public what a potent instrument for change and national advance education is and to create a demand for more and better education. To remove the existing disparities in our society through democratic means is a mighty endeavour. It is education which can provide the needed mental mobility and resilience to face the challenges of the present day and in the particular context of our country's efforts

Speech while distributing the National Awards to the selected teachers, New Delhi, December 17, 1972.

to counter the ills of exclusivism, parochialism and sectarianism. Such ills are enemies of integrated living and utterly incapacitate the victims of these ills from partaking fully and fruitfully of the life at the present day which clearly demands for breaking down of all man-made barriers.

All this adds up a fresh dimension to the school as an institution in the present context of change. It is no more an institution whose task is confined purely to formal, conventional instruction. Its responsibilities cover a far, wider field. It has to quicken the pupil's awareness of his immediate surroundings, the oneness of the vast land mass of India of which they are an inextricable part and of the fast shrinking globe which increasingly necessitates the cultivation of a global vision. To train a child at school has come to mean not only to impart knowledge according to a set syllabus, but also to equip him in such a way that he is seized of the needs of the environment in which he lives and is well-fitted to face the problems and challenges of a changing society.

All this makes a demand on the members of the teaching profession, a demand for which it is difficult to find a parallel in our earlier educational history. There is, first, the question of the sheer number of children attending school and secondly among these are those who are first generation learners. To help them to learn and to help them to retain their interest in learning, a great deal of innovation and experiment and the adoption of suitable techniques and methodology are necessary. It should be the task of Government, both Central and State Governments, to provide increased facilities for the training of teachers and to ensure that they are freed from avoidable material and financial cares so that they can devote themselves to their service with vigour and single-mindedness. It is gratifying that account has been taken of the need to provide such facilities in the draft Fifth Five-Year Plan for Education. We should hope that there will not be any diminution in the suggested financial outlay. There should, besides, exist a heightened public consciousness of the importance of meaningful education to support Government effort. Finally, it is needless to add, the teacher should be dedicated to his calling and sensible of the key role he occupies in the transformation of society.

Apart from professional competence, what is particularly required is close, personal contact between the teacher and the pupil. This mutual relationship, which facilitates an interplay of minds, and moulds and shapes the thinking and personality of the pupil has far-reaching effects of a wholesome kind. Parents and the community surrounding the school have also their part to play in the fulfilment of the

school's objectives. The school, the parents and the community require to act in unison as fellow-participants in a shared enterprise. The more society takes interest in the education of the young, the greater the strength to the teachers elbow.

Great Role of Music

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in inaugurating this fortysixth Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras. We have had a long and distinguished tradition of music in the South. While we have divided ourselves into linguistic States—whose consequences continue to trouble us in a variety of ways—the orthodox form of Carnatic music has remained an uninterrupted heritage in the whole of South India. The *kritis* of Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syma Sastry, the Musical Trinity as they are known, are assiduously learnt and sung in all parts of the South. The *Pancharatna Kirtanas* of Thyagaraja and the *Navavarana Kirtanas* of Dikshitar are sung with almost religious fervour in every important concert. Swati Tirunal, that musician Prince of Travancore, composed songs in a number of languages, including Hindustani. Purandara Dasa is yet another name among the greats in this line. These masters set the tradition and pattern for a succession of versatile music composers in the South, and we have today many notable compositions which have widened the choice of concert singing and enriched listening experience. These compositions are not imitations or blind reproductions. They are the result of deep study, sustained training and scholarship. Their contribution to the advancement and development of music is significant. I hope the Academy will give large-hearted encouragement to our younger composers and to the growing number of young musicians who, though not taking to music as a profession are yet its devoted practitioners.

I am glad that more and more efforts are now made to get a better understanding of the relationship between the Carnatic style and the Hindustani style of music. I would like to compliment the Academy for its contribution in this direction by inviting well-known North Indian musicians and scholars to participate in its annual conferences. It is remarkable how a discriminating South Indian

Speech while inaugurating the 46th Conference of the Music Academy, Madras, December 21, 1972.

audience finds itself fully at home in a Hindustani music performance and is able to appreciate its nuances and finer points. Indian music is now spreading itself beyond our shores and is finding votaries and admirers in Europe and America. This emphasises the catholicity of music and its universality of appeal. Truly has it been said by Beethoven, the great German composer, that the purpose of music is to bring about a oneness of emotion and thus to suggest to our minds the coming time of a universal brotherhood.

Classicalness in music is a cherished virtue, and I know the high priests of the Academy act as its jealous guardians. This is as it should be, because any dilution may distort the very form and basis for its further development. To my mind, however, the great appeal of music is its devotional content. It elevates the mind and enables it to be at peace with itself. There is no happiness without peace, sung Thyagaraja in his famous song *Santamu Leka Soukhyamu Ledu*. Jaya Deva's *Gita Govindam*, which has a unique place in the history of evolution of Indian music both in the North and in the South, the songs of devotion of Surdas, Kabirdas, Sadasiva Brahmendra and Meera have a perennial appeal to the child as well as to the grown-up. We also have in the South the great treasures from the Tamil literature, the *Pasurams*, the *Tiruppavai* and *Tiruvembavai* and the *Thiruppugazh* songs which have become so popular in music circles today. Their appeal to the lay-mind is direct and touches their innermost instincts.

Our saint musicians, forsaking worldly pleasures, have stressed the primacy of spiritual values. Their life-story reminds us that a purely materialistic progress divorced from the spiritual elevation of the individual is inimical to the growth of a balanced, integrated and harmonious human society. We live in a world full of petty jealousies, rancour and mutual suspicion. Power of wealth and power of position often blind one to the realities of life. That these are only transitory and ephemeral will be obvious if we can develop a sense of detachment and cultivate a capacity for introspection and retrospection. How beautifully has Thyagaraja brought out the emptiness of the desire to cling to one's worldly possession ! He sings in the song *Rukalu Padivelu* :

Though you may have tens of thousands of rupees, what you actually need is only a handful of rice.

Though you may have immense quantity of clothes, you need only one for wearing.

Though you may possess extensive territory, for laying your body at rest, you require only three cubits of space.

Though you may have hundreds of varieties of cakes, you can take only as much as your mouth can hold.

Though the lake may be full of water, you can draw therefrom only so much as your pot can hold.

[The English translation is from my friend, Dr. V. Raghavan's book].

Our problem in India today is to find ways and means to feed our millions, to clothe them and to give them shelter. They have to be assured of a decent life, a life which will help them towards self-development. I am a propagator and a practitioner in my own humble way of the religion of humanism. Service to one's fellow-beings is the essence of this religion and undoubtedly the best form of worship to God. In the sublime atmosphere of music that pervades this hall, there can be no higher thought.

Dedicated Work in Spreading Literacy

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in associating myself with this function for the presentation of the Nehru Literacy Award. I have been connected with the Indian Adult Education Association; three years ago I had the privilege of presenting the same award to Shrimati Kulsum Sayani. Recently, we honoured Mrs. Welthy Fisher for her outstanding contribution. Today we are honouring another great name in the field of adult literacy—Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh.

As you are all aware, Smt. Durgabai's life has a great object lesson for all those engaged in social service. By her determination and will power, she moulded her own life in a manner that today her name and fame as a social worker, legal luminary and parliamentarian, has spread throughout the country and abroad also. As has been pointed out, she is a glorious example of what adult education can do in enriching an individual's life and in promoting national progress. There is no doubt that literacy opens the door to a richer and more rewarding life for an individual. Gandhiji said : "Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated. But the literacy must not end with knowledge of the alphabet. It must go hand in hand with the spread of useful knowledge".

An enlightened electorate is a *sine-qua-non* of democracy. A democratic social order will function only if the citizen is vigilant and takes an active interest in the affairs of the Nation. We in India are today attempting to build a new society in which our common

Speech while giving away the Nehru Literacy Award for 1971 to Shrimati Deshmukh, New Delhi, March 14, 1973.

people will get a square deal. This is a tremendous job requiring the willing co-operation and hard-work of our teeming millions. It will not be possible for us to release the unbounded energies of our people for national reconstruction unless we educate and motivate them on right lines. It is precisely with this view the concept of functional literacy has been evolved.

We should plan to wipe out the illiteracy within a decade or so and we must draw concrete plans for this purpose. I believe this field is pre-eminently suited for voluntary organisations. I am glad that the Indian Adult Education Association is doing its best. But this movement must become a nation-wide effort and the torch of literacy must be carried to every nook and corner of the country. Those who have the privilege of receiving formal education must consider it their sacred duty to impart adult education to those who have been denied this privilege. The slogan "Each One Teach One" must become a way of life with our educated people. What the country needs today is thousands of dedicated workers. I hope Smt. Durgabai's example will be a source of inspiration and many more people will come forth to help in this noble task of eradicating illiteracy from our country.

I wish Sister Durgabai many many more years of life in the service of the Nation. I thank you for affording me an opportunity to be with you all this evening.

Tamil—an Unifying Force

I AM VERY happy to be here in the midst of eminent Tamil scholars and inaugurate the 5th Conference of the All India University Tamil Teachers' Association.

It is a matter of gratification that the All India University Tamil Teachers' Association has been constituted purely for academic purposes. The primary aim of this Association is to promote Tamil Research in a scientific manner. No doubt traditional Tamil scholars are known for their learning and mastery of details but in modern times, constant efforts should be made to infuse the scientific spirit in language research and development.

Speech while inaugurating the All India University Tamil Teachers' Conference, Madras, June 20, 1973.

This Association serves an eminently useful purpose of bringing together all the Tamil scholars in India. Incidentally, I believe this is also an excellent way of promoting national integration. Scholars from places like Delhi, Trivandrum, Mysore and Tirupati, should meet often and exchange ideas in their respective fields. In this way coordination of the research work on Tamil language and literature could best be achieved. The research findings of scholars in every nook and corner of India should be made available to all the students of Tamil so that Tamil literature may spread far and wide and reach the intellectuals the world over. This will pave the way for a comparative study of Tamil literature with that of other modern languages.

Tamil Nadu, from times immemorial, has always given a pride of place to its litterateurs. Such a tradition has been well maintained, thanks to the successive writers through different centuries who have made a signal contribution not merely to the enrichment of Tamil but for providing an impetus to the people of this land to make their lives sublime. I would like to quote the example of Thirukkural. ' It not only contains the best of poetry and pearls of wisdom but gives practical guidance to the people in the art of living. Thiruvalluvar does not merely dwell on high philosophic issues, but provides the norms and values that can be fruitfully followed by every householder. The message of Thiruvalluvar, though nearly 2000 years old, is eternal and inspiring and shall continue to guide the people of this land for centuries to come.

What has contributed to the strength of Tamil literature? I believe it is the universalist and unifying quality of the 'Tamilian spirit that is responsible for the greatness of Tamil literature. The language stands absolutely unique among the world's languages for length and continuity of life. It is both a classical and a modern language. Great names like that of Kamban and Elango adorn the firmament of Tamil literature. The depth and range of this literary heritage is matched only by its catholicity and universalism.

Coming to recent times, Subramanya Bharati, another valiant fighter in the cause of India's political and economic emancipation aroused national consciousness by the eloquence of his poetry. His patriotic, and philosophic poems constitute one of the finest collections ever written anywhere. The lofty ideals which Bharati pursued and kept before the writers of his times, the vibrant thoughts of his poetic compositions and the manner in which he lived upto them continue to be a source of inspiration to the writers even today. It is for the men of letters and the intellectual leaders to recapture the dignity, the mission and destiny of our ancient land and engender an

invigorating climate of ideas which will lay the foundations for a new social order.

One of the significant happenings of recent years is the growth of our Indian languages. They are coming into their own and with care and devotion we can make them effective vehicles for conveying modern scientific and technological thought. Mother tongue as the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges is our accepted policy. It is also gradually becoming the language of administration and law courts. Thus, Tamil and other Indian languages have a great future ahead of them. In my view, there is no room for any meaningless language controversies. We must concentrate on the constructive work of developing our languages. It is by hard and sustained work that we can make our languages serve the needs of a modern progressive society.

Museum—a Priceless Heritage

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in coming to the Salar Jung Museum this morning to unveil a statue of Nawab Salar Jung. This museum has a priceless collection of valuable articles from all over the world—East as well as the West. The oriental section includes Indian, Iranian, Japanese and Chinese collections. The Western section is remarkable for the fine collection of porcelain and furniture. The Museum library has rare manuscripts and printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and other languages.

It is remarkable how one individual built up this museum. It is the responsibility of all of you to see that the art objects here are preserved and protected from the ravages of time and the greed of man. A museum like this should really become a centre of education. With the help of the vast collection of art objects here, one can present history attractively to boys and girls and excite their curiosity and make them think. There should also be mobile exhibitions which could be taken round villages. It is important that the exhibits should be properly explained to the people.

India has been known for centuries to be the treasure house of art, which reflects our age-old culture and civilization. In the past, unfortunately, we did not pay sufficient attention to the maintenance

Speech while unveiling a bronze statue of late Nawab Salar Jung III, at Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, September 25, 1973.

and preservation of these objects. This enabled anti-social elements to rob the nation of some of its priceless treasures for selfish motives of profit. In spite of our taking many steps to prevent the theft of valuable pieces from our temples and museums, one hears of the loss here and there of beautiful antiques. This problem has to be tackled by creating a vigorous and enlightened public opinion that will make the people realize the immense value of the art treasures that we possess. They belong to the nation. Every effort must be made to protect them and preserve them for posterity as objects of permanent value and undiminishing beauty.

I want museums to become a way of life with our people. There should be massive growth of such museums if we are to give a fillip to products of our small and cottage industries which combine beauty and elegance with utility. All our embassies abroad also should have nice showrooms and emporia which should function as store houses of the authentic heritage of India in arts and crafts.

Most Appropriate Memorial

THIS SOLEMN CEREMONY of dedicating the magnificent new building which is to house the Nehru Memorial Library is an event full of symbolic significance. In physical terms, the separation of the Library from the Museum will provide scholars and research workers ampler space and better facilities to pursue their studies. It should also suggest to them the need to distil and present to the public a clear and true account of modern Indian history, while preserving intact for posterity the visible and concrete memorials of the past.

Jawaharlal Nehru himself is most appropriately commemorated by this centre of historical study and research for he was not only a great maker of history, he was also a good writer of it. If his letters to his daughter contain glimpses of world history, and the *Discovery of India* is a competent and lively summary of Indian history as a whole, his Autobiography is both a crucial part and an eloquent epitome of the history of India's freedom movement.

I am glad to know that this Library is one of the richest repositories of source materials and has already made a name as a pre-eminent centre for research in history of modern India. It is but

Speech at the dedication ceremony of the New Library Building of the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library Society, New Delhi, January 27, 1974.

proper that stress is laid on the building up of a core collection of printed materials. The Library has already more than 55,000 volumes and the Nehruana alone comprise nearly a thousand titles. The Library has the largest collection of newspapers and periodicals with a bearing on the freedom movement. It has specialised in the acquisition, maintenance and preservation of the personal papers of Jawaharlal Nehru as well as those of many of his colleagues and contemporaries of all shades of political thought and also of institutions. With foresight, the Library has also acquired by negotiation with the copyright owners in England, the microfilm copies of papers of British Secretaries of State and Viceroy. I would like to commend the good work you have done in microfilming the bulk of Rabindranath Tagore papers deposited in Santiniketan and in undertaking to repair the original manuscripts of Mahatma Gandhi's papers kept in the Sabar-mati Ashram, Ahmedabad. The academic community in India and abroad have been closely associated with the Library and I am glad that the services rendered by it has won the praise of eminent scholars.

I have great pleasure in declaring open this Library. This fine building is indeed a worthy addition to our metropolitan city. It is not only elegant and functional but blends with the beautiful environment. I wish the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library all success.

Knowledge through Work

I AM GRATEFUL to my esteemed friend Shri Shriman Narayan for inviting me to come here and participate in the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Shiksha Mandal. Started by the late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj in 1910, the institution had the good fortune to have the guidance and blessings of the Father of the Nation. I congratulate all those connected with this great institution for their sustained efforts to bring it up to its present stature. Today, a number of educational institutions are functioning under it not only in Wardha but in other places also.

Gandhiji had a clear perception of what Indian education should be. He was of the opinion that "along with the pursuit of know-

Speech while inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Shiksha Mandal, Wardha, March 2, 1974.

ledge practical work should form the basis of our educational system". Gandhiji wanted to put his views into practice and in Shiksha Mandal he found a ready and powerful medium for this. Mahatma Gandhi's educational theory was the imparting of knowledge through work and to make the education self-dependent. He wanted that spinning, weaving, carpentry, paper-manufacture and poultry-work should be included in the school workshops.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Shiksha Mandal in 1937, the National Educational Conference was convened and under the guidance of my illustrious predecessor the late Dr. Zakir Husain, the scheme of basic education was formulated. The four main principles of the Wardha Scheme were : (a) Education should be free and compulsory, (b) Education should be imparted through the mother-tongue, (c) Education should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and (d) It should gradually be able to cover the remuneration of teachers. These were revolutionary ideas and had we implemented them on a national scale, our society would have undergone a radical transformation by now.

The framers of our Constitution have enjoined on the States to make effective provisions for securing the right to education and to provide within the period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution for free and compulsory education for children until they complete the age of 14 years. Consequently all primary education has been made free in State-run or State-aided schools. Legislation for compulsory primary education has been enacted in a number of States.

One of the striking phenomena in the post-independence era in the field of education is not only the qualitative change but the growth of sheer numbers, the tremendous growth of quantity. A very heavy responsibility falls on our institutions of higher education, on the great corporate bodies of the teacher and the taught, who through purposeful inter-action have to keep constantly in mind the necessity of maintaining the highest standards of academic achievement. Here it is our old institutions like yours, that have to set the pace.

Yours is one of the few institutions where a sincere effort is made to experiment boldly with new concepts in education. I am glad to know of your plans to link education with growth and development through socially useful and productive activities. I welcome your proposal to establish a good workshop in the campus which would help the students to become self-employed after completing their studies. I hope the Shiksha Mandal will blaze a new trail in educational reform. I wish your endeavours all success.

Bridges of Understanding

I AM DELIGHTED to be here this evening to inaugurate the Institute for conducting research into the origin of Tamil, Sanskrit and allied languages and also to lay the foundation-stone of the Institute building.

Language and literature are undoubtedly among the most powerful factors that shape the life of the people. In a vast multilingual country like ours every common bond of language and culture should be cherished and strengthened in order to bring about national unity and national integration of the people. Out of diverse languages, religions and cultures we are trying to evolve a rich harmonious national ethos, recognisably Indian. It is our sacred duty to rise above all separatist feelings and urges and contribute our mite towards achieving national solidarity. Viewed in this context, the establishment of this Institute is of utmost importance today.

I have every hope that the work your Institute proposes to do will help create bridges of understanding between the different linguistic groups in our country. Let us not forget for a moment that in spite of bewildering diversities in India, the process of synthesis has been continuously at work and has produced in our vast and ancient land an underlying current of unity which cuts across all differences. This is more true with regard to the development of our languages which have all along acted and reacted on one another. I am glad your Institute is undertaking the study of the growth of our languages without any prejudice or bias. These studies are bound to reveal and reaffirm the links that unite our languages and their common cultural heritage. I believe the best check on fissiparous tendencies and parochial forces is to be found in the true understanding of the fundamental aspects of our culture. I am sure your Institute will make a significant contribution to the enrichment of the concept of national integration.

The study of the origin and development of languages is indeed a fascinating one. Comparative study of Sanskrit, Tamil and its allied languages would indeed create not only a catholicity of spirit but an insight into the poetic genius vouchsafed in each language through its great writers and composers who have added lustre to well-known themes by handling them differently, distinctly and with a special sweet connotation every time making the themes more fresh and colourful. Comparative study and research in the field of

Speech at the inauguration of the Institute for conducting research into the origin of Tamil, Sanskrit and allied languages at Madras, July 18, 1974

language and literature is all the more welcome as it widens the vision, perfumes the mind by taking it into fresh pastures and illuminates the understanding of hidden treasures in one's own language.

Your Institute is embarking on an ambitious project of studying the origin of Tamil and Sanskrit. These two great languages have borrowed from each other profusely and Indian culture and civilisation as we know today is a product of mingling the two streams of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. I hope your studies will bring to light many new facets of this age-old synthesis.

Tamil holds an honoured place among our languages for it has forged vital links between the North and the South. It is also an international language in the sense it is spoken by many in lands outside our own. The depth and range of its literary heritage is matched only by its catholicity and universalism. Its glorious tradition begins with the Sangam literature over two thousand years ago. A great Tamil Poet of the Sangam Age proclaimed : "The world is my village and all fold are my friends." The same message of universalism is emphasised by Thiruvalluvar who said: "He alone lives who knows that he is one with all. The rest have the place among the dead". This universalism and humanism has been the life-breath of the Tamil tradition. This undoubtedly is the spirit that will promote unity and national cohesion.

Sanskrit has been a great unifying linguistic bond in our country. It has moulded the ideals and outlook of our people from the earliest times and has been serving the cause of intellectual growth. Its potentialities in the exposition of high philosophical and scientific thoughts, its excellence in poetry and fine arts have been universally acclaimed. The role of Sanskrit in the origin and growth of the special linguistic branch known as comparative philology is indeed noteworthy. The yeoman's service rendered to Sanskrit by savants like Maxmuller, Sir William Jones and others will always be cherished. The coming into close contact of European scholars with this language played a significant role in the evolution of comparative and descriptive linguistic studies and research in the West. We must carry forward this research and devote particular attention to strengthening the bonds uniting languages like Sanskrit, Tamil and allied languages. The function of languages is to serve the interests of people and if we approach the study of languages in the right spirit we will always find that languages unite the people and never divide them. I wish your Institute every success in promoting understanding and amity between the various linguistic groups of our country.

Economic Affairs

Work Unitedly for Prosperity

I AM HAPPY to address this Conference on this New Year's Day. The year that has just gone by has seen India pass through the most difficult, but yet glorious, period in its history since independence. A nation's strength is adjudged by its capacity to withstand challenges to its integrity and by its ability to preserve national unity. December 1971 put the whole country on test; and it is a matter of pride for all of us that we rose as one man, not merely to defend our frontiers, but, in the process, to liberate the 75 million people of Bangladesh from a tyrannical and ruthless oppression by a military junta.

Our gallant men on the land, sea and air, backed by the whole nation, have proved worthy of the highest hopes that we had of them. We are proud of these men for their great courage and devotion to duty. My heart goes out in particular to all those who laid down their lives and to those who suffered injury in this conflict. I am happy that people from all walks of life, including the business community, are coming forward voluntarily to help the families of these brave men so that they may be quickly rehabilitated and assured a life of security and confidence.

We are entering the Silver Jubilee year of our Independence. During these twenty-five years, we have striven hard to fulfil the pledge we made to our people of securing to them social, economic and political justice. There have been far too many impediments in the way of our country's progress. The recent conflict imposed on us by Pakistan has demonstrated beyond doubt that where national issues are concerned there is a total identity of purpose among our people. We represent a nation whose sense of unity no power can destroy and no threat can weaken. Let no one think that we are a dependent nation. Self-reliance and self-sufficiency are no longer mere slogans for us, these have to form the basic creed of our policy.

We have resources in our country such as very few others have. We have a hard-working and intelligent people. While we seek fresh avenues of knowledge in the advanced methods of scientific and technological development, we have essentially to build our economy to suit the peculiar requirements of our own people, a vast majority of whom have still to be helped to come up to standards of minimum

Speech at the Conference of the Mysore Chambers of Commerce, Bangalore, January 1, 1972.

comfort in life. The country's economic and industrial progress has to be so viewed as not to involve foreign collaboration and foreign know-how as a condition therefor. Our workers in the fields and the factories are capable of producing results, given proper direction and proper incentives. We have already achieved a break-through in agricultural production, and a new hope is surging through our countryside. If agriculture which was relatively backward could forge ahead in this swift manner, we could attempt a similar advance in the industrial sphere also. We must develop our own indigenous know-how. In the process of experimentation, it is quite possible that we will make some mistakes and there may be some losses too; but these do not matter. Constant research leads to new vistas of knowledge and new discoveries. Our young men and women who have gone in the pursuit of higher learning in science and technology to countries abroad and who work there will, I am sure, be patriotic enough to come back and join in the fascinating task of building a strong India. Those in authority will consider it their duty to give them the right opportunities and provide proper environments in which they can put to best advantage their scientific knowledge and technical excellence.

On this occasion I would like to congratulate the employers, the workers and their organisations for the spirit of unity, dedication and patriotism displayed by them during the recent conflict. They have shown that in times of need they would sink all the differences and work unitedly for the larger national interest relegating to the background their own sectional interests. In fact the unity seen among all classes of our people is evidence of the strong democratic base on which we have built our society. While I am happy about what the employers and workers have done, as one who has spent more than half a century of his life in the cause of improving industrial relations I appeal to them that they must continue to vigorously pursue the same unity and spirit of determination to win economic freedom for our people. Rapid economic development will be possible only if the farmers in the fields and the workers in the factories keep up a high level of production and productivity. I would strongly urge the working class who today stand divided into different unions mostly based on political ideologies to forge unity in their ranks. I have been a staunch advocate for more than two decades of the concept of "one union in one industry". I fully realise that there are formidable obstacles in the way of realisation of this ideal. Nevertheless, I believe that trade unions belonging to different affiliations could come together and have a common committee to represent to the employers on fundamental and crucial issues and at the same time retaining individual identity in dealing with minor problems. Once

the efficacy of having a common committee is realised, the individual unions could ultimately come together on the basis of one union in one industry.

I am glad that there is a strong realisation among leaders of public union that this ideal of one union in one industry should be seriously studied. Employers also have a crucial role to play. They must create a climate for good industrial relations by a proper appreciation of the role of labour which is a co-sharer in the fortunes of industry. While I have always held that strike is an inalienable right of the workers in their armoury, it should be the very last resort if other methods of settlement of a dispute fail. Let there be a moratorium on strikes and lockouts for the next three years. Let the workers and employers pledge that they would resolve all the differences through discussions and not resort to strikes or lockouts.

I would also urge upon the business community and the traders to adopt for themselves a code of conduct which will restrain them from profiteering or indulging in unhealthy business practices. Any one who takes advantage of shortages of essential commodities for personal profit should be branded an enemy of the community as a whole. I would ask leaders of the community, and the youth in particular, to organise movements to resist price-rises and thereby assist in holding the price-line. A full-fledged consumer movement is, in my view, the most effective means of not only checking anti-social practices but also in improving the quality of goods. I must, however, emphasise that this movement should be conducted in the most disciplined and lawful manner. Their approach must be constructive and never agitational.

It is in times of stress and strain that a nation is roused to its full vigour. We are today at a stage where a great deal of privations are inevitable in our day-to-day life. In dealing with the problems of reconstruction that confront us, there is no room for parochial or sectional considerations. The unity that prevails in the country to-day should be built upon and cultivated assiduously so that we derive the maximum results in achieving the goals of social change and social development.

Long and arduous years are ahead of us, but I have no doubt that with unity, discipline and dedication, we will surmount the difficulties facing us. The mood of the country today is one of hope and promise and the time is propitious to launch an all-out effort for eradication of poverty and unemployment. It is hard work and hard work alone that can bring about greater equality through increasing prosperity. Production and more production must be our motto. Every one of us must contribute his or her best for the national

endeavour. It is by individual effort alone collective effort becomes possible.

Develop Export Strategies

I AM INDEED very glad to hear of the contribution of the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade in the export effort of the country particularly in the important areas of training, research and market surveys. The training programmes of the Institute have been widely recognised not only in India but also by other developing countries in the world. I am aware that the Institute has attained a high level of specialisation and has contributed to policy formulation and execution in select areas of foreign trade.

I have seen the Course Papers prepared for the International Programme on "Trade Policy and Export Promotion" which is being currently organised by the Institute. These papers besides being scholarly and academic, relate to the practical problems involved in the complex international marketing operations.

It is a pity that in spite of the buoyancy in world exports the share of the developing countries in the trade is declining. It is my firm conviction that the developing countries of the world should formulate growth-oriented trade policies for progressive increase in exports towards the ultimate aim of self-sustained growth as early as possible. In view of the growing uncertainties for adequate inflow of external assistance, a stage has come for the developing countries to orient their trade policies for socio-economic growth through expansion of foreign trade and mutual co-operation. It is also necessary to emphasise that a rapidly increasing level of exports can alone provide the desired manoeuvrability to the economy for reconciling its various social and economic objectives.

I am happy to note that the persistent efforts of the developing countries under the auspices of UNCTAD have ultimately achieved the breakthrough in the form of Generalised System of Preferences being introduced by the developed in favour of the developing countries. However, the non-tariff barriers and the restrictive, in-

Address to participants of the International Programme on 'Trade Policy and Export Promotion' conducted by the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi. February 9, 1972.

ward looking trade policies of the developed countries may dilute the potential benefits of GSP for the developing countries.

The challenging tasks of export marketing necessitate development of a cadre of trained export management personnel. Market surveys and marketing research are highly technical areas requiring scientific orientation and training. For adopting effective marketing strategies a systematic effort has to be made by the developing countries in these crucial areas. The efforts made by the Institute in these fields need, therefore, to be multiplied in other co-developing countries. I am sure the Institute would render necessary assistance and co-operation in the establishment of similar organisations in other developing countries of the world.

Forge Ahead in Agriculture

I AM VERY happy to be here with you at the occasion of the 9th Convocation of the Govind Ballabh Pant University of Agriculture and Technology.

During the last ten years of its existence, this University has not only played a pioneering role in the field of agricultural education by introducing some of the relevant and much needed educational reforms but has also made substantial contributions in the area of agricultural research. The role that the University has played as an important partner in the All-India crop improvement programmes of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research is well known. I congratulate all the young research workers and students for the great contributions they have made in the fields of wheat, soyabean and sugarbeet improvement.

To my mind it is immediately necessary to identify and select suitable areas of around 1,000 to 2,000 acres of land in States where lands *prima facie* appear to be cultivable and are available in fairly substantial quantities. These lands could be distributed to deserving and willing unemployed, conferring on them only heritable and not transferable titles. The task of reclaiming the lands and making them suitable for cultivation should be entrusted to the allottees of the lands and should be a labour-intensive effort. Costs should be

reduced drastically and expenditure on tractors, etc., should be the minimum. For the period until the first crop is raised, the government should take the responsibility of making payment in terms of wages to the allottees for the work that they do in making the land cultivable, building their houses in the area and such other construction work that might be included in the plans for rehabilitation. Construction of common amenities like schools, hospitals, roads, and, if possible, a centralised water supply system should be borne entirely by the government.

As you are aware, we have chosen, in our national planning, to use agriculture as the main plank of economic development. This means that we have to concentrate on increasing the per acre and per capita productivity and income. We are spending on agriculture and irrigation almost as much during this plan period alone as in the previous three Plans combined together. The investment on power and transport will be in addition to this.

While on the one hand agriculture is to serve as a spring board and base for industrialisation, agricultural development is to be the main instrument of social change and transformation. Programmes relating to both development of new technology and those for educating over 300 millions of the farming population in new technology must, therefore, become the primary concern of agricultural universities. If we are able to make our vast rural masses conscious about the great benefits which scientific research and technology can bestow in the field of agriculture, we shall have changed the entire outlook of our people. It is only through this mechanism that the demographic and social facts of our existence can be altered.

It would appear that self-sufficiency in cereal production resulting from the green revolution in recent years calls for a reassessment of the forces of agricultural development and growth. In the wake of increased production, the country is facing what are popularly called the 'second generation problems'—inadequacy of transportation, storage, credit and marketing facilities. There is also growing concern about the social impact of new patterns of productivity, particularly, the possible further disparity of income between those who have suitable land and water resources and levels of income to afford new production inputs as contrasted with those farmers who lack these resources. It is possible that eventually there may be migration from rural areas as new technology enables fewer acres and fewer agricultural workers to produce larger quantities of food and other agricultural products. Fortunately in India the introduction of new agricultural technology—multiple cropping, electrically operated tubewells and threshing machines, etc.—has

boosted production to an extent that on the whole more labour is needed to deal with harvesting, transport, marketing and processing in areas of intensive agriculture. We should only resort to that degree of mechanisation in farming which is relevant to the socio-economic and employment conditions—prevailing in each region.

A balanced approach in research demands that due attention is paid to many inter-related factors in development including new technology, production inputs, incentives, facilities for storage, marketing and distribution, and the planning of the use of the land, water and human resources. All these must be embraced within the effective programme of agricultural research at an agricultural university.

Modernisation of our agriculture is throwing up a number of complex problems and agricultural universities will have to re-orient their research programmes to cope with this new situation. Research programmes must move outwards from the area of production to that of processing and product utilisation, from biological sciences to economics and sociology and from applied research to more basic and fundamental research. While production of cereals has made significant progress, the production of pulses which are an important source of protein to our predominantly vegetarian population has been practically static, so far. Likewise, more intensive effort will have to be directed to crops like cotton, oilseeds and soyabeans. In the case of soyabeans, this University has played an important role. It would appear that unless research in processing and utilisation of soyabeans is undertaken it will be difficult for this crop to pick up. As a social welfare measure, government has made a commendable beginning of a massive programme of supplementary nutrition to vulnerable groups inhabiting tribal areas and city slums. Already two million pre-school children and pregnant and lactating mothers are being fed in about 17,000 feeding centres. Apart from measures for integrated child and health care around these nutrition centres, research in food technology should lead to convenient low cost ready-to-eat nutritive food. This is indicative of another important area of research where this country has to develop suitable competence—the area of food technology and nutrition.

While the green revolution has solved the foodgrain supply problem, the more complex challenge of nutritional balance in the country's diet is undergoing extensive review. The emphasis is, therefore, shifting from cereal production to animal husbandry, poultry, dairy farming and fisheries. I hope this University has initiated research and education programmes in the area of mixed farming, which is a system of particular relevance to improving the per capita income of small and marginal farmers.

Normally we need two categories of graduates—'technologists' and 'specialists'. The former is concerned with the problems in the field and industry and, therefore, needs to be prepared as a 'general agriculturist'. The training programme of general agriculturist needs to be quickly adapted to the external needs. In the case of specialists depth and soundness of scientific knowledge are more essential. He must have a sound preparation in basic sciences. But recently, a new demand appears to be arising—a demand for 'development planning expert' and 'integrator' who has the ability to integrate knowledge over broad areas of agronomy, sociology, economics and management. Agricultural universities will have to consider whether the technologist with necessary orientation could be prepared as an 'integrator' or whether a 'ruralist' will have to be trained with economics, law and sociology as base.

While agricultural breakthrough has been realised both in terms of acre-yields and overall production in case of wheat, the 'scientific advance' made in extending the yield frontiers of rice, maize, jowar and bajra has not been reflected as 'production advance'. The main barrier has been the absence of a suitable rural educational system to serve as a vehicle for the new technology to reach the primary producer—the vast masses in the Indian villages. If we are to make the farming millions of India take active part in the technological revolution, we cannot wait till they become literate. The problem of 'technical literacy' has to be placed in the context of the drive for adult education. It should be possible to do so with mass media and rapid communication techniques. I am, therefore, happy that at this University you have established an excellent agricultural communication centre.

I wish this University well in the great tasks that lie ahead in years to come.

Strengthen Industrial Base

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you today when you are celebrating your Silver Jubilee. A healthy, growing and modern machine tool industry is a basic pre-requisite to economic development in general and industrial development in particular.

Speech inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Annual General meeting of the Indian Machine Tool Manufacturers' Association, New Delhi, March 22, 1972.

This industry has now reached a stage where not only the manufacture of all types of general purpose machine tools like lathes, milling machines, drilling machines, shaping machines in various types, sizes and price ranges has been established but more sophisticated machines like single and multispindle bar and chucking automatics, drum turrets, copying lathes, gear hobbers and shapers, boring mills, broaching machines etc. are also being manufactured. Further development in the industry has, therefore, necessarily to be towards the manufacture of more complex machine tools capable of giving greater output and accuracy including numerically controlled machine tools. In the Fourth Plan period a target of production of about Rs. 650 million by 1973-74, annually has been fixed covering a very wide range of modern machine tools. It is reasonable to expect that with the present trend of production the planned target may well be reached. The Public and Private Sector units in the machine tool industry can take just pride in this achievement.

In order to keep pace with the developments in machine tool production and catch up with the latest design trends and production technologies in the industrially advanced countries, our machine tool manufacturing units have entered into a number of technical collaboration arrangements with reputed machine tool manufacturers all over the world. It is time we paused and seriously assessed the impact of these collaboration arrangements on the development and growth of our industry. We can ill-afford to depend on foreign collaboration arrangements for all time for developing and updating our machine tools. We have to harness our material and human resources for the development of indigenous technology and know-how. Concerted efforts have to be made to evolve indigenous designs in active co-operation with research institutes like the Central Machine Tool Institute, Bangalore and the Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, Durgapur.

The machine tool manufacturers have to devote special attention to the question of obsolescence in machine tool industry. Our engineering industry looks to the machine tool manufacturers to provide them with the right type of high productive machine tool incorporating the most modern production technology and innovations to an optimum degree to suit our special requirements. Machine tool manufacturers have, therefore, an onerous responsibility to provide industry what it needs and is looking for. In the sheltered market that has developed in our country, many of our present models and designs of machine tools have become out of date. Urgent action is called for to update them so that our industry does not suffer in productive efficiency and does not get priced out in the international competitive market.

Exports rank high in our list of national priorities. A vigorous and broad export effort is an essential prerequisite to the building up

of a growing and modern machine tool industry. All these years the Indian machine tool industry, barring one or two notable exceptions, was essentially catering to the internal demand which was steadily on the increase. A beginning has, however, been made in the field of exports and machine tools worth Rs. 32 million have been exported during the year 1970-71. I think the time is opportune now to launch an all-out effort to maximise exports. An export target of Rs. 75 million has been fixed by the end of Fourth Plan and the manufacturers should make every effort to ensure that this target is not only fulfilled but exceeded. Your Association can play a very important role in this export drive by coordinating the efforts of individual units in opening sales centres, providing aftersale services, conducting market research and undertaking product development exercises.

Over the years we have built up massive facilities for manufacture and fabrication. Our efforts in the development of new designs and research have not, however, been commensurate with our industrial progress and the future requirements of the nation. I would ask you and through you the machine tool industry to plan for the establishment of adequate Research and Development facilities to sustain the vigorous growth of this industry to cater both to the domestic and overseas markets. Such effort has naturally to cover the larger industrial plants as also the industry as a whole. Government and the national research institutions will actively encourage and supplement this effort. I do hope that in this Silver Jubilee year, you will plan for a massive thrust forward towards self-reliance and higher technological competence in the years ahead.

Building an Industrial India

I AM HAPPY to be here with you on this auspicious occasion. Over the past so many years, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has rendered valuable service not only to its members but also to the cause of industrial growth in the country. This magnificent building, which we are here to inaugurate, bears testimony to the fact that your members can look back on the past with

Speech inaugurating the New Building of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, New Delhi, March 24, 1972.

a certain sense of fulfilment. But *griha pravesh* is not just an occasion for looking back. It is a moment no doubt for a certain amount of grateful satisfaction. But even more so, it is an occasion for looking ahead and plan for a more active and fruitful future and for making a new resolve to continue in the service of the community. I have no doubt that as long as you keep before you this motto of service before self, success for your endeavours is assured.

We in India are passing through a period of rapid change. The pace of change, whether social, technological or political, has quickened everywhere. In India, however, it is not enough merely to adjust ourselves to changing conditions. We have also to initiate, shape and bring about change where change is needed in an orderly and democratic manner.

Leaders of business and industry are right in pointing out that without production on a large-scale at least in the key sectors, Indian industry cannot compete in international markets. At the same time, mere size or monopoly power or concentration of power cannot ensure efficiency and growth. In fact, more often than not, they produce precisely the opposite result. But even if large organisations are necessary, we need to devise a new kind of industrial and corporate structure in which the managerial talent of the business community is combined with some form of accountability to the general public. How best this is to be done and how the fruits of industrial growth are to be shared among workers, consumers and the managers is a question to which we cannot give merely conventional answers. There is no way in which problems of distributive justice can be dissociated from those of production in a democratic society. Democracy does not begin and end only with elections to the Parliament or to the State Assemblies. It has to embrace all aspects of our life whether they relate to the business of Government or to the business of industry and commerce.

The business community alone cannot fulfil the various aspirations to which I have referred. Government has a responsibility to create an appropriate structure of institutions and policies in which business can function in accordance with the overall social and economic objectives. The willing co-operation of workers is equally important. But the business community also has to show a willingness to examine new approaches to adopt new attitudes and to renew and revive the spirit of service and dedication from time to time.

May I wish you all well and your Federation a long and constructive role in building an India of which Tagore sang—where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high : you know the rest. In this hope, may I now inaugurate this new building which is to be the centre of your activities in future.

Tapping Indian Talent and Skill

I AM VERY happy to be with you all this evening and present the National Awards for meritorious inventions and import substitutes. This function has given me an opportunity to meet a very large cross-section of the nation's inventive talent and get acquainted with their achievements. The nature of inventions and import substitutes awarded this evening reveals the deep involvement of our scientific and technical community in furthering our national objectives. I am optimistic that we will not only achieve technological 'self-reliance' to meet our national needs but the meritorious contributions of our scientists and engineers will soon place us in the happy position of being able to export technology developed in our land. I congratulate all those who have received the awards this evening and offer them my best wishes for a life of achievement and fulfilment.

This country has no dearth of scientific and technical talent but the problem has been primarily that of their proper utilisation. While we have done a good deal to promote science and scientific research in our country, we have not paid enough attention to the question of harnessing the innovative skill of our engineers and technologists in the unorganised sector which constitutes the vast bulk of our technical man-power. There is also a vast reservoir of untapped talent in our countryside and among the millions of industrial workers.

It is indeed a happy augury that the National Committee on Science and Technology under the leadership of my esteemed friend, Shri C. Subramaniam is soon launching a massive programme of scientific and technological research aimed at achieving the socio-economic goals as defined in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Any developing country launching on a programme of rapid industrialisation will have to devote a good deal of its attention and resources to adapt modern technology to suit its special needs. I believe we will strike a proper balance between applied and basic research in order to ensure the well-being of the largest number of our people. Countries like Japan have shown us the way how to bridge the technological gap and I am sure we will benefit from their experience.

It is my belief that institutions like the Inventions Promotion Board should not be content merely with presentation of awards. What is more important is development of creative ideas into commercially successful innovations put to use by the industry and society. This calls for a comprehensive service and the Board should develop

Speech while giving away awards for meritorious inventions and pioneering work at import substitution, New Delhi, July 31, 1972.

expertise for the guidance of the inventor-entrepreneur. Wherever necessary, the Board should also help him in selling his know-how to established manufacturers. There should also be a well-equipped Information Centre for the latest products and know-how available in India and abroad so that any one having innovative skills may go back enriched by many more ideas to work on. The Board should be a storehouse of creative ideas that promise profitability and jobs. It should act as a live channel for rapid transfer of the latest technology from the advanced countries as available in technical literature of the world to our research and development organisations, industry and free-lance scientific and technical personnel having a flair for product development.

The magnitude of the task awaiting the Inventions Promotion Board is indeed great. Whatever might have been its performance in the past, it has to build up resources to offer an integrated service to the free-lance innovator. I invite the trade and industry to get more closely involved in the programme and activities of the Inventions Promotion Board by donating substantial amounts for exploiting the inventive talent in the unorganised sector. If each one of the qualified scientists or engineers develops one new product per annum which leads to the employment, say, of ten persons to bring it into the market we will build a massive employment potential. I have always been emphasising that unemployment is the single biggest problem that we have to face and solve. This problem has to be tackled on a war-footing and we can neglect it only at grave peril to our social framework.

This Silver Jubilee year of our Independence is the right occasion for introspection, to review our past performance and activities and reorientate our future plans in conformity with the new socio-economic objectives of the nation. The Inventions Promotion Board has a crucial role to play in achieving technological self-reliance and eradication of unemployment. I take this opportunity to urge upon the scientific and technical community and the industrial workers in our country to intensify their efforts to achieve our national objectives.

New Role of Company Secretaries

I AM THANKFUL to the Institute of Company Secretaries of India, for inviting me to inaugurate the First All India Convention of Company Secretaries. This Convention, I am sure, is only the beginning of your collective effort to place the profession of Company Secretaries on a firm foundation in the system of corporate management in our country.

The profession of Company Secretary, although of recent origin in our country, has had its development in some of the Commonwealth countries much earlier, especially in the United Kingdom where the Company Secretary is a statutory officer in the organisation of the Joint Stock System of business enterprise. In our country although in the Companies Act, 1956, the term 'Company Secretary' is defined there is no statutory provision enjoining on every company to appoint a Secretary. Despite the statutory recognition of the office of Secretary under the English Law, till recently the Courts have been treating the Company Secretary as a subordinate servant without any ostensible authority to commit the company by his actions. But there has been a change in this judicial view in recent times and I am happy that the role of a modern Company Secretary is being recognised as that of a responsible managerial executive. Even though it is not mandatory to have a Company Secretary, our Law also recognises the Company Secretary as a responsible officer. In this context, I note that a proposal is now before Parliament to amend the Companies Act of 1956, for incorporating provisions by which, the status of Company Secretary is being elevated, the individuality of the office stressed and it is being made obligatory for every company, having a paid up capital of not less than 2.5 million rupees to appoint a Secretary having the prescribed qualifications.

The corporate sector has assumed great importance in the development of trade, industry and commerce. The Constitution of India confers legislative power on Parliament to enact laws affecting the various aspects of Trade, Commerce and Industry. The policy of the Government in bringing the elaborate provisions regulating the operation of companies in the Statute Book is not so much aimed at controlling the corporate sector as such but is essentially for the purpose of ensuring that the franchise of incorporated companies is

Speech at the inauguration of the First Convention of the Institute of Company Secretaries of India, New Delhi, September 22, 1972.

not misused for private gain to the detriment of the common good. Indeed, the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in our Constitution, impose an duty on the State to direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good. The State is further enjoined, to direct its policy towards securing that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

The social justification for the enactment of Company Law, Rules and procedures, regulating the method of carrying on commercial and industrial activities in the incorporated company form is that the system controls the production and distribution of goods and rendering of services needed for the welfare of the community. In order to achieve this objective the Company Law envisages that this paramount corporate responsibility should be vested in the Board of Directors. The top layer of management is thus the Board of Directors and its primary function is to lay down the company policy and ensure execution of the same. The Company Secretary should really function as a senior corporate officer having high responsibilities to assist the Board of Directors. A conscientious and competent Company Secretary has to have a clear idea of the entire range of operations of the organisation which he serves, of the due observance in letter and spirit of the various statutory provisions which govern, or have a bearing on them and of the 'image' which the management presents to the shareholders and the Company as a whole presents to the general public. Your deliberations in this Convention therefore have to be conducted in the background of the responsible position your profession has in the scheme of corporate organisation.

I am also happy, to note, that you are going to deliberate, on the need for disciplined growth of your profession. This I suppose is an obvious corollary to your role in bringing about disciplined growth of corporate management. Your contribution to this growth is essentially dependent on the discipline you are able to bring about in the development of your own profession. I hope you will be able to reach a consensus, as to the content and direction of your work, as professional corporate officials. A beginning has already been made in recognising your vital role in the functioning of the corporate sector and I hope you will be able to suggest further steps necessary to the development of your profession along with the development of the corporate sector and the national economy.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating your first Convention and I hope your discussions will prove to be instructive and useful not

only to those who are fortunate enough to participate in the Convention but also to all those who are concerned with the corporate sector in general.

Major Role for Productivity

I AM HAPPY to participate in today's function and lay the foundation stone for the office of the National Productivity Council of India. Since Independence we have made impressive progress in generating productivity-consciousness in various sector of the nation's economy. The productivity movement is gaining momentum now, and seeing the record of NPC's work, I may say that I am greatly impressed by the positive transformation which this public service organisation has been able to bring about in the outlook of management and labour as well as of the public in general. By popularising the techniques of productivity through innumerable training programmes, seminars, symposia, and other propagational measures, the NPC has made a valuable contribution to the creation of productivity-consciousness amongst all those who are actively connected with industry. Today, there is a growing demand for NPC's application training programmes as well as its result-oriented consultancy services in the field of techno-managerial areas, not only within the country but in the developing countries of the Afro-Asian region as well.

There is no doubt that, whether in large scale or small scale economic operations, productivity plays an essential role in the efficient utilisation of resources. With the growing advance of science and technology, we have to endeavour constantly to adopt the most efficient methods of production which make the best use of the available resources, and achieve production at an economic cost. This, in fact, is the basic philosophy of productivity which needs to be stressed continuously. The use of scarce resources to the utmost advantage is important for the nation as a whole, and I am glad that this trend is being strengthened in our growing economy.

In the 25 years that have elapsed after independence, we as a nation have faced great stresses and strains without losing sight of our major objective of providing productive employment for all the people

Speech while laying the foundation-stone of the building of the National Productivity Council, New Delhi, October 11, 1972.

in the working age group, raising the standard of living of the masses and designing for them a socialistic pattern of society. While the Government is fully aware of its responsibilities and is taking necessary steps towards the achievement of this objective, every citizen of the country must also contribute his mite in the fulfilment of this task in the shortest possible time.

What we need is inculcation of proper attitudes to work hard and the will to make optimal use of the available resources for achieving higher productivity and faster rate of economic growth. At the same time, factors impeding industrial productivity will have to be resolved. We must take advantage of the favourable industrial climate. First and foremost, the idle capacity in the industry should be fully utilised. We have also to improve the quality of management in administration and decision-making. It is certainly very important that the level of management skill be bettered, and for this we must expand management training, and provide better and more training facilities for educating the new generations of managers through professional and other institutions. Managers are conditioned by their social and economic environment and have to be responsive to it, and I feel that it would be worthwhile bringing this factor to the knowledge of managers through their educational and training programmes.

But by far the most important problem which needs to be tackled urgently is in the field of industrial relations. The success of any industrial enterprise largely depends on good industrial relations, if it has to achieve the objectives of maximising production, ensuring fair and adequate returns to investors, and meeting labour's legitimate demands. The Government has announced that it proposes to bring a comprehensive law on industrial relations envisaging the setting up of an Industrial Relations Commission, both at the Centre and in the States.

Besides establishing fair and sound personnel policies, a satisfactory solution to the sharing of the gains of productivity may pave the way for better industrial relations. So also, examining the question of linking bonus above the agreed minimum with productivity might make a positive contribution towards improved industrial relations. The NPC certainly deserves the credit for working out broad guidelines and "Models" for sharing the gains of productivity. I have always been pleading for a proper linking up of wages, productivity and prices. Due to increasing cost of living, there has been a growing unrest on the part of the working class. This is but natural. At the same time, I would like to stress on my working class comrades that the primary responsibility devolves on them to see that productivity and production are maintained at the highest possible tempo. There is no use of

saying that the wages must be increased without any step in the direction of increased productivity. If the wage factor is not matched by a proportionate, or more than a proportionate increase in productivity and production, the very system will not be able to adjust itself to the growing demands of labour. For our past experience has shown the phenomenon of the benefits of increased wages being offset by the increase in prices. In developing countries, we find an increasing awareness on the part of labour that they should be paid what is due to them. This conflict can be resolved only if wages are linked to productivity and prices.

If you look at the Indian scene today, you get the impression that rapid changes are taking place in the country's socio-economic life. We have to face the challenges of change. This new situation certainly calls for an enlightened approach. We cannot any longer function in an atmosphere of unrest, and distrust. That was why, some time back, I had called for a moratorium on strikes and lockouts for three years. We should realise that industrial management is an area for co-operation, and I feel that the time has come when there should also be a healthy competition in increasing production and productivity rather than living in conflicts which would hit the labour class no less than the community as a whole. Labour must consider it its supreme duty to maintain production and productivity at a high level for they are the co-sharers and co-partners in progress. They should no longer consider themselves as mere wage-earners working for their daily bread but as citizens of a free country trying to build a new order of society where justice and equality will prevail. As far as rationalisation is concerned, Gandhiji had enunciated long time ago the three cardinal principles for effecting rationalisation.

1. Rationalisation should not create unemployment.
2. Additional work-load, if any, ought not be such as to jeopardise the worker's health.
3. The profits of rationalisation should be equitably shared by management and labour.

These principles have stood the test of time and would, if applied reasonably, safeguard the interests of the workers even today.

On this occasion, I would like to stress the importance of the small industries sector in creating ample employment potential. The NPC and the Local Productivity Council have a much greater role to play by way of providing training and consultancy services, enabling this sector to produce goods and services at competitive prices and of desired quality. The NPC should also gear itself to help the prospective young entrepreneurs in identifying investment opportunities for them and preparation and evaluation of the feasibility of their new industrial ventures.

I have the firm conviction that the country's progress, prosperity and ultimate strength will depend on our ability to increase national productivity and employment potential. We have celebrated the Silver Jubilee of our Independence. Let us devote the next 25 years to achieving higher productivity in all spheres of activities and employment for all. Let us remember that poverty can be abolished only through higher productivity. I am sure that the managements, labour, and the NPC will join in this effort, and contribute usefully to the building of a society in which our millions can live a fuller and more abundant life.

"Self-Reliance" in Industry

I AM HAPPY to be in your midst to inaugurate the International Convention of Indian Engineering Industries organised by the Engineering Association of India. This is particularly appropriate this year as the country is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Independence and hosting the Third International Trade Fair. I note that a number of delegates, both from India and abroad, are attending this Convention and I am sure that the Convention will succeed in its objectives particularly in bringing about a fruitful and purposeful communication between the representatives of developed and developing countries with a view to accelerating the pace of development in the engineering industries.

It is a matter of gratification that engineering units have been trying to incorporate the latest technological developments and know-how and have reached a stage where exports are always assuredly on the increase from year to year. Another point I would like to bring out is that the exports of engineering goods include not only simple manufactures but also capital equipment, structural fabrication, power station equipment, transport equipment and durable consumer goods. As you are also aware, India is not only exporting to other developing countries but also to the developed countries. A convention of this nature is bound to bring about a nexus of thought and action on the best representative industrial talent available from the developed and

developing countries. In this partnership, there is a fusion of the talent to the common advantage of all concerned.

Self-reliance in the industrial field requires not only industries which can increase exports or save imports but also of development of indigenous skill for planning, designing and engineering. As I stated earlier, India's domestic capabilities for the manufacture of plant and machinery have in the last few years seen a general growth, diversification and considerable sophistication. However, design engineering capabilities in India are yet to develop on a scale adequate to meet the growing needs for the creation of new capacities and new lines of production. While it may be worthwhile to permit import of designs and drawings on a selective basis for fully utilising our fabricating capacities, we have to give the highest priority to the development of indigenous capability in this field. The expertise that has developed and is in existence in design engineering in various industries has to be evaluated with a view to formulating specific steps for upgrading them as well as developing them to meet future requirements. I am sure you will understand my concern for developing and optimising indigenous talent but this is not to say that we shall close our doors to technological changes taking place all over the world. It cannot be claimed that the engineering industries have developed a self-sufficient indigenous technology so as to dispense with all reliance on foreign assistance for all time. The engineering industry has an obligation both in its own interest and in the interest of the country to keep pace not only with the improvements being taken on hand but also with the problem of obsolescence entailed by the changes in the pattern of production and technological innovations in the user industries. As you know, for the first time, India has been evolving a Science and Technology Plan, which will not only identify technological gaps but also programme the supply of technological inputs in a time-phased manner. This Plan will weld the production and technological needs into a pattern of growth towards higher production competence. In this process, great care has to be taken to ensure that technologies that we develop are in tune with the pattern of economy so that no imbalances develop in the correct orchestration of the factors of production.

It will also be necessary at this stage to stress on a step of great importance which the Government of India and State Governments have taken in recent years. This is the transformation of technologists into entrepreneurs. As a matter of fact, there is no better method of improving technological content in an industry than to weld technology with entrepreneurship.

I would like to stress the need for the growth of ancillary industries around every big industry both in the public and the private sectors. There is a tendency on the part of large scale industries to produce everything they want under their own roof. This is an uneconomic and wasteful method. A thriving group of industries in the small scale sector could supply quality component parts and ancillaries at a cheaper price. The small units need not be technologically backward. They can adapt higher technology but it must be suited to our needs and environment. I believe our technologists and engineers can meet this challenge and evolve suitable techniques for our small units. It is only by a massive growth of small-scale and cottage industries that we can solve the problem of unemployment in our country.

Vast Opportunities Exist in Small Scale Industries

I AM HAPPY to be with you this morning on the occasion of the 12th Annual Conference of the Federation of Association of Small Scale Industries in India. I understand that during the last decade alone, nearly a quarter million new small scale enterprises have been added and this sector now accounts for nearly one-third of the industrial production in the country and employment opportunities at a very large scale. While these are no doubt achievements to feel proud of, yet, these should not make anyone complacent.

In a country with a population of 600 million, the figure of 300,000 small scale units is nothing. I am conscious of the current difficulties which inhibit the establishment of new units and retard the growth of the existing ones. I may assure you that the Government is thinking in a big way for the promotion of small scale industries in years to come. I understand that the draft schemes prepared for this sector for inclusion in the Fifth Plan have envisaged to create 2 million new employment opportunities. To this end, nearly 2 hundred thousand new small units shall have to be set up in addition to providing facilities to the existing 0.4 million units for working to their full capacity. The task of this magnitude would indeed call for

Speech at the inauguration of the 12th Annual General Meeting of the Federation of Associations of Small Industries of India, New Delhi, December 14, 1972.

certain policy support, substantially strengthening of existing organisational arrangements and also forging of a number of new institutions especially for modernisation and marketing arrangements. The Industrial Licensing Policy of the Government of India would also have to be more effectively used for the development of small industries by preventing entry of larger units into certain reserved areas and by farming out production of ancillary items to small units. Besides, allocations of scarce inputs, such as foreign exchange, indigenous scarce materials, institutional credits, etc., shall also have to be stepped up to this sector.

In spite of the phenomenal growth of small scale industries recorded during the last two decades, these industries have mainly come up at a dozen places of industrial concentration in the country. This trend of concentration of small scale industries at a few places needs to be reversed. I would like to urge upon you to give a serious thought to this anomalous situation as otherwise the extremes of poverty and prosperity will get so widened that it may become difficult to bridge the gap. It is, therefore, inescapable that the Government is now laying great emphasis on the development of backward and rural areas. I know that no single programme of development in isolation can remove the backwardness of these areas. Rather, it requires a co-ordinated approach by the Government and the people. It would be necessary that the agencies which are concerned with the development of small scale industries—I mean both the Government and non-Government bodies—lay more and more emphasis on fostering growth of industrial units in backward areas. You are all aware that a number of incentives have been announced by the Government for developing small scale industries in the backward as well as rural areas. I would suggest to your Federation to consider it as their most important function for some time to come to work in these backward areas by encouraging the local population to set up manufacturing enterprises. I am glad to learn that certain beginning has already been made in this direction by your Federation. There is no dearth of local raw materials and skill. If at all there is dearth of anything, that is only guidance to these people as to how they could utilise their local resources in the field of manufacturing activities. I am told that the Development Commissioner of Small Scale Industries, has been organising "Intensive Campaigns" for development of small scale industries and quite impressive results have been obtained through this programme.

To my mind, these Intensive Campaigns constitute a very effective and pragmatic approach for taking the message of industrialisation to the very doorsteps of potential entrepreneurs dispersed all over the country. They are apprised of the vast industrial opportunities existing in the country and the help available to them from various institutions

and agencies. Through an Intensive Campaign, all the agencies concerned with the development of small industries act together on the spot, whereby a prospective entrepreneur is saved of considerable time and labour which he would have otherwise spent in going from one department to another. I should, therefore, suggest to the Federation to hold such campaigns with the help and co-operation of Governmental agencies, in backward and rural areas as these campaigns would give the necessary guidance and assistance to the people in the establishment of small scale units. In this context, I welcome the move of the Government of India to select about 30 'Pilot Areas' for intensive development of small scale industries, to act as model centres for developing small scale industries in different States during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

Experience of small scale industries development in the industrially developed countries, especially Japan, has revealed that ancillary relationship between large and small scale units not only provides the most prospective areas for small scale industries development, but, in fact, also makes competitive and efficient production possible. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Government has made a provision whereby all the public sector undertakings should sub-contract their requirements of sub-assemblies, parts and components to the small scale units. I would, however, like that your Federation should also take upon itself some kind of responsibility to develop ancillary small scale units. It may take up this matter with its members who have by now become quite big in size so that they may sub-contract the manufacture of some of the parts and components to their smaller counterparts. This is necessary since all possible avenues of new employment opportunities need be harnessed for the benefit of our people.

The Small Scale Industries Sector has thus far remained a sector without proper statutory and legislative discipline. I understand that on the recommendations of the All India Small Scale Industries Board, a Committee has gone into the question of drafting a suitable legislation for small scale industries. Further, the Committee has submitted its report which is now being considered by the Government in consultation with State Governments and non-official bodies. While a suitable legislation will follow as a result of the decision of the Government, it is also imperative that voluntary organisations like yours take upon themselves to inculcate the habit of 'self-discipline' and promote adoption of certain code of business conduct by their constituent units. Any amount of legislation cannot be a substitute for voluntary discipline. I hope you would agree with me that all of us have certain obligations towards our society. And I have no

doubt that you who belong to the better off sections of the community would creditably honour your obligations.

Before I conclude, I would like to mention that the economic prosperity of small man has been my keenest wish and I would, therefore, be happy to learn that the small scale industries sector which is within the reach of the small man, make tremendous progress in the years to come. In this task, your Federation, the Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, and other organisations which have already done a useful work, have to contribute a lot more.

A Mirror of Progress

MY GOVERNMENT HAS had the privilege of hosting the Third Asian International Trade Fair for the last 45 days. Asia '72, as it is popularly known, has been a memorable event. The Fair represented a milestone in more than one sense. It symbolised the coming together of nations from different parts of the world for mutual benefit, for strengthening the existing trade links and for exploring new areas of economic co-operation. Asia '72 has marked a big step forward in realising this objective.

For us the Fair had an additional and deeper significance. Coinciding as it did with the 25th Anniversary of our Independence, it provided an opportunity to assess the strength of our industrial base and impressively project it in an international forum. The Fair has also enabled other developing countries to project their achievements and aspirations. We were happy to see this. Many of the developed countries, who enthusiastically participated in this Fair, have also demonstrated their desire to co-operate with us in our efforts to build a better life for our people. We welcome this endeavour.

Along with Asia '72, my Government in collaboration with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation organised an International Seminar on Transfer of Technology. I had the pleasure of inaugurating this Seminar, which was attended by all the participating countries in the Fair. The Seminar reached some positive conclusions. They merit serious consideration both by the developed and developing countries.

Speech at the closing ceremony of the Third Asian International Trade Fair at New Delhi, December 18, 1972.

As on earlier occasions, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East had also organised intra-regional trade promotion talks to coincide with the Third Asian International Trade Fair. I was glad to hear that there were more participants on this occasion and 93 bilateral discussions took place. I hope these talks will lead to increase in co-operation and contribute to the development and welfare of the region.

A number of delegations from several participating countries visited the Fair and concluded useful agreements with us. Trade Ministers from most of the participating countries along with their senior officials and representatives of trade and industry also came here to see the Fair. They have all made new contacts and have carried with them high impressions of what they saw. This association has created a new atmosphere of goodwill and we want these Fairs to become a permanent feature of our future trading. We want to use them for further expansion of trade among the developing countries and with the developed countries who participate in our Fairs.

Trade Fairs are recognised institutions all over the world. They not only mirror economic progress, but also emphasise the inter-dependence of nations in an age where travel, trade and communications have annihilated space. Asia '72 has brought home this truth.

Textile Industry Marches On

I AM VERY happy to be here morning to inaugurate the International Textile Seminar jointly organised by the Delhi Branch of the Textile Association and the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi.

At the present moment besides meeting domestic demands, textile industry is an important exchange earner for the country. It must, however, be admitted that our industry has to keep pace with the technological developments in the world and it is here that seminars of the type that is being organised today—will come in very useful in bringing up to date the knowledge of Indian technologists.

Since independence, India has been moving fairly fast towards self-sufficiency as far as production of textile machinery is concerned.

Speech inaugurating the International Textile Seminar on "Modern Developments in Textiles" New Delhi, January 6, 1973.

In fact, some textile machinery is being exported also. Qualitatively, however, we are lagging behind the other developed countries and I hope seminars of this nature will be helpful towards filling up that gap.

It is gratifying to note that a number of national research laboratories and institutes are, at the moment, busy in conducting research in textiles. However, the effort is meagre in comparison to the size of our industry and very much more has to be done by Indian scientists and Indian industry by way of research—both fundamental and applied—if we are to improve our industry, and bring it up to the world level.

India is one of the largest producers of cotton in the world. However, the equipment that is available to the Indian technologist does not take into account the peculiar characteristics of Indian cottons and it is absolutely essential that our research workers and machinery designers start working towards development of equipment suited to our cottons. This will enable the country to retain and improve the hold it has in the world market in the field of those textiles where our cottons prove to be more beneficial and useful than others.

It is not only in the field of machinery technology that research is called for. Equal emphasis has to be given to research in the field of man management, and I would strongly urge the research institutes to devote equal, if not, more attention to the problem of industrial relations which can guarantee to the worker the role of an equal partner in industry and avoid the perpetual strife which is a common feature of our industries. The workers of the textile industry were the pioneers of the labour movement in our country. I hope as the oldest organisation of workers, trade unions in textile industry would give the correct lead to the rest of the workers. The primary responsibility for increased production and productivity devolves on the workers and I am sure the textile workers will maintain production at the highest possible tempo. There is no use of saying that the wages must be increased without any step in the direction of increased productivity. If the wage factor is not matched by a proportionate, or more than a proportionate increase in productivity and production, the system will not be able to adjust itself to the growing demands of labour. Employers for their part must also create a climate for good industrial relations by a proper appreciation of the role of labour which is a co-sharer in the fortunes of industry.

The problem of sick mills in India is being heard of from various platforms very frequently. These are units which are operating uneconomically for one reason or the other. To my mind, the most important reason for the uneconomic performance of these mills is

their out-dated equipment and out-moded methods of man management. A novel experiment is at the moment tried by the Government, who have taken over the management of more than 100 mills in India, and it has been demonstrated that their working can be improved economically with proper management of various resources.

The Indian cotton textile industry is the largest organised industry by turnover as also by the number of direct employees. If the large number of people employed in the growing and distribution of raw material, is also taken into account, it would be one of the largest industries in India. Consequently, its problems are also multifarious and I hope deliberations of this Seminar will attempt to focus attention on areas where significant improvement can be made with the help of exchange of technological know-how and information. Apart from cotton, jute is another important area of textiles in which India has a predominant position and equal amount of research and technological innovations are called for to keep this industry in the forefront in the world markets.

The synthetic man-made fibres have assumed an important role as a competitor to cotton in the Western countries. In India, a beginning has already been made with the production and processing of synthetic fibres and fabrics and this trend is bound to gain momentum with the rise in the standard of living of our people. I hope this Seminar will devote sufficient attention to this new development. We should keep in mind our climatic conditions and the requirement of our people.

While stressing the need for rapid technological development to enable the country to keep pace with the competitive world, one has to bear in mind the crying need for competent technologists for planning and executing the development programmes. This is an area where institutes like IIT's have a vital role to play. Technical Institutions in India have contributed their mite to the development of this country. With the rapid expansions in the frontiers of knowledge, the demands on the educational institutions have, however, become far too exacting to be met by rather inflexible course, curricula and training methods adopted by the institutes in general. What is needed is a thorough revitalisation of the educational programmes so that the country may not have to depend on borrowed technology for long. The researches carried out in the Institutions, although of sound academic merit, are generally not attuned to the developing needs of the country as the institutions work in isolation from the industry. In the areas of technological developments the industry must work in close collaboration with other technical institutions so that their efforts may be complementary to each other. Seminars of the kind I am

inaugurating today should provide a common platform for exchange of ideas and greater appreciation of mutual problems and the country's problems in general.

Jute Industry in India

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the Platinum Jubilee Seminar of the Calcutta Jute Fabrics Shippers' Association. The jute industry in India is over a century old, and it is indeed a matter of pride to you all that your Association has served well this important industry for 75 years. This long period has witnessed many ups and downs, with fortunes fluctuating with the emergence of competing interests. The challenges of the future have to be met squarely if jute is to survive as an industrial fibre. Your Association has an important role to play in this task, and I have no doubt that this Seminar will provide a very useful forum for a full discussion of the problems ahead and how they can be overcome.

Since the establishment of the first jute mill in the country on the banks of the Hooghly in 1855 when jute spinning was started in India, the jute industry in India today has become the largest in the world, catering to the packaging requirements of world markets as well as to the diversified sectors such as carpet backing, furnishings etc. Today, jute manufactures constitute the single largest foreign exchange earner for the country, and it is the pre-eminent position that calls for constant vigil.

In my opinion, the first requisite for any concerted drive to meet future challenges will be a firm modernised production base. I understand that modernisation of machinery up to the spinning stage has been achieved to a very large measure. The industry has yet to take up modernisation of post-spinning and weaving sections. This task must be taken in hand and completed as early as possible. Advantage must be taken fully of technological advancements in production techniques, and the pace of modernisation accelerated. Without efficient production facilities it will be difficult to meet the fast changing world demands.

Equally important is the assurance to the industry of uninterrupted supplies of raw material so that production can be maintained at

Inaugural speech at the Platinum Jubilee celebrations of the Calcutta Jute Fabrics Shippers' Association, New Delhi, February 8, 1973.

desired optimum levels. Being an agricultural commodity the production of which is dependent on weather conditions, jute has presented many problems. The provision of timely inputs such as improved seeds, fertilisers, and equipments has not yet achieved the much desired breakthrough and the yield per acre still continues to be the main handicap to increasing output. Our scientists have to put their heads together and attain a much higher yield without increasing the area under jute cultivation.

The challenge of the future is the threat to jute from synthetics. There can be no single solution to this problem. Jute, if it is to survive, must adapt itself to changing conditions. Above all, jute must be competitive in price with synthetics. All this calls for constant research and product development. This is an area to which greater attention than hitherto must be devoted at all costs. I have no doubt that Government will be only too willing to render such financial and other assistance as may be required for this very important aspect.

It is in the field of marketing of jute products that your Association has to concentrate all its attention and energies in the years to come. If in the last decade we have lost some of our markets to our competitors, it is perhaps to some extent due to an absence of aggressive marketing techniques. 'Survival of the fittest' was never more true than today, as far as this commodity is concerned. Similarly, the satisfaction of the consumer should be the watch-word of every exporter of jute goods. A well thought out 'after sales service', including speedy settlement of buyers' claims for quality, weight etc., will go a long way in sustaining the interest of the consumer, and retaining him as a permanent customer.

The jute industry provides direct employment to nearly 250,000 workers. There production of raw jute sustains 5 million families. My working class comrades have a vital role to play in keeping the wheels of this important industry moving. As dominant partners in the industrial system they have a great responsibility for higher production. An equitable social order can be achieved only through higher production and increased productivity. It should be our constant endeavour to enable this industry to attain higher and higher level of production. The future of the industry will depend, to a very large extent, on our ability to find quick and lasting solutions.

Higher Agricultural Production

I AM GLAD that the National Tonnage Club for Farmers has sponsored this All-India Convention on Higher Agricultural Production and the Seminar on Social and Economic Growth of Rural Millions. Agriculture is the bedrock of our economy. Seventy per cent of our population is directly occupied in this sphere, and nearly 60 per cent of the total household consumption is comprised of agricultural products. Increase in agricultural production is, therefore, basic to the progress of our economy. Thanks to the efforts made by our farmers, important strides have been made in raising the production of food-grains and other crops. The record of agricultural progress in the last 5 or 6 years has been particularly impressive. The production of wheat has more than doubled to reach the level of 26.5 million tonnes in 1971-72. Significant advance has been made in the extension of area under high yielding varieties of cereals, increased fertiliser application, development of minor irrigation particularly ground water resources and provision of institutional credit to the farmers. The area under high yielding varieties of cereals is now around 22 million hectares. Irrigated area has been doubled since independence to the level of 40 million hectares. However, the widespread drought of 1972 which has caused a severe set-back to agricultural production is a stern reminder that there is need for putting much bigger efforts in the coming years. The agricultural base has to be raised so that production will not only be adequate but also be more stable. This can be achieved by continuously extending the area of co-operation amongst scientists, planners, extension workers and farmers.

While we look back on the progress of agricultural production in recent years with a measure of satisfaction, one has also to recognise that quite a large number of the under-privileged and weaker sections has been left untouched by this progress. Increasing prosperity of those who are better endowed with wealth and resources, and stagnation of the weaker and under-privileged sections, has led to the widening of disparity and social tensions. My belief is that economic progress is meaningless if a large proportion of our population remains steeped in poverty and suffering and is condemned to a miserable life. It is in this background that we have adopted the motto of growth with social justice and have taken a number of steps to move

Speech while inaugurating the Third All India Convention on Higher Agricultural Production and the Seminar on "Social and Economic Growth of Rural Millions", May 13, 1973.

in that direction. In the approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan, the National Development Council has laid down that the removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance will be two principal objectives of the Fifth Plan. The subjects of your Convention and Seminar eminently match with these objectives and I hope that your discussions will lead to practical and useful conclusions.

Under the 4th Plan, it was laid down that besides the objective of securing consistent increase of about 5% per annum in agricultural production, efforts would be made to enable as large a section of rural population as possible, including the small farmer, the farmer in dry areas and the agricultural labour to participate in development and share its benefits. Small Farmers Development Agencies and agencies for Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers have been established in a number of districts. The Crash Scheme for Rural Employment has been undertaken to provide employment opportunities, particularly to members of the most indigent and help-less families. Agro-Service Centres are being set up to provide employment to the unemployed agricultural graduates and to provide the services of modern machinery and equipment to the cultivators. These programmes represent new initiatives towards improving the conditions of under-privileged sections and handicapped areas. It is true that as compared to the magnitude of our problems, these are only the beginnings and we have yet a long way to go in this direction.

Social justice and growth are not inconsistent objectives. There is need for sound planning, proper organisation and effective implementation of Plans. We have an abundance of human labour, but limited land and water resources. At the same time, our soil and water husbandry practices are still imperfect and we are getting from our resources much lower production than is possible with proper application of scientific knowledge and better agricultural techniques. Scientific advances have opened up several avenues for increasing productivity of available natural resources. It is organisation and management of resources that can help to bring about the desired results. My own vision of a prosperous agriculture in India is one in which the village community joins hands on the basis of equality and team-work for optimum utilisation of labour, land and water.

I would like to use this opportunity to sound a note of caution against excessive dependence on chemical fertilisers. We must give due importance to organic manure in planning our agricultural strategy. Our farmers through their traditional use of cowdung, farm yard and poultry manure, night soil, compost and oil cake etc. know the value of organic manure. We have a vast source of organic matter in our country viz. water-hyacinth, sugar-cane baggasse, jute sticks, dry leaves, paper wastes, besides cowdung, night soil, garbage and poultry

manure with chemical fertilisers. Continuous cropping without proper manure with chemical fertilisers. Continuous cropping without proper replenishment of organic matter may lead to dangerous impoverishment of our soil.

I thank you all for giving me an opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you. I hope that the Seminar would come up with practical suggestions which would really contribute to the social and economic growth of the rural millions. I have great pleasure in inaugurating your Convention and the Seminar.

Cost Accounting for Economic Growth

IT IS A great pleasure for me to lay the foundation-stone of the building of the Northern India Regional Council of the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants of India. I am sure the new building that will come up here soon will further facilitate and promote the activities of the Institute.

Cost and management accountancy has a special role to play in a developing economy like ours. It is of vital importance in putting our scarce resources to the best possible use by avoiding waste and inefficiency. There is a compelling need to save on production costs and to make goods within the reach of the domestic consumer and competitive in export markets. The importance of cost accountancy is all the greater today when Governments all over the world are struggling to contain the phenomenon of rising prices. For price regulation to be effective there has to be a proper control on costs. This can be ensured by enforcing cost accounting in as many spheres as possible. Cost consciousness has to be developed by all producers whether in farms or in factories. Statutory cost auditing is presently confined to only a few industries. It might be worthwhile to gradually extend it to more and more industries so that cost accounting is made obligatory in all important spheres of industrial and economic activity as is the case with financial auditing. The two professions of chartered accountants and cost accountants have a great role to perform. They are supplementary and complementary to each other and together they can benefit the economy a great deal.

Speech while laying the foundation stone of the building of the Northern India Regional Council of the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants of India, New Delhi, July 5, 1973.

With the developing industrialisation in the country, there is need for scientific management imbued with a rational outlook and Cost Accountants, by virtue of their qualifications, experience and training can render signal service in reducing costs and improving efficiency of industrial undertakings. A well conceived scheme of cost accounting can result in timely prevention of undue cost increase and thus benefit the producer as well as the consumer.

The cost and management accountant is able to interpret the long term plans for attaining economic objectives and thus the tools of cost accountancy are invaluable in the process of decision-making. I am glad that the industrialists in the country are gradually becoming more and more conscious of the benefits of costing and cost audit. This should lead to increasing awareness of the importance of cost accounting in making the industry more and more competitive through maximum utilisation of labour and materials at minimum cost.

The function of cost and management accountant has a special relevance to the public sector of our industry. We have invested considerable outlays in our public sector projects and our people have a right to expect adequate returns from them. You are all aware of the criticisms sometimes levelled against these organisations in the matter of management and under-utilisation of capacities. Cost consciousness alone can prevent wastage and improve the efficiency of men and machinery.

I am sure the profession of costs accountants will increasingly assume its proper role in the economic development of our country and give our industries and the consumers the maximum benefit. I wish the Institute all success in its laudable endeavours.

An Important Agro-industry

I AM HAPPY to be here to inaugurate this National Seminar on Tea organised by the Consultative Committee of Plantation Associations.

Tea perhaps is one of our oldest industries in the country. Indeed, it was the pioneering effort of some of the earlier planters who had gone to the most far off places of our country and planted tea on the hills and slopes of the Himalayas as well as in the Nilgiris and the Western Ghats. Tea is partly agricultural and partly industrial and

Speech while inaugurating the National Seminar on Tea organised by the Plantation Associations, New Delhi, December 15, 1973.

as such this agro-industry occupies a position of great importance in our national economy. Besides employing a large number of workers, it has also the privilege of being one of the foremost foreign exchange earners, next only to jute goods. In the present context of our economic development, it is perhaps this aspect which requires our utmost attention and efforts to increase exports and earn foreign exchange. This becomes the more urgent in the context of generating resources for the Fifth Plan development schemes. I understand that the Ministry as well as the Industry are already considering the problems and it is with this idea that this National Seminar has been organised where you will be deliberating on the various issues which are important for the development of tea plantations as well as export earnings.

I am informed that the Ministry of Commerce are studying in depth the problems confronting production and exports of tea. I would suggest that both Government and Industry may in consultation with each other explore the means by which the objective of a more rapid growth in production of tea as also a substantial increase in exports may be achieved. I am glad to learn that the production of tea in Indai has increased by about 100 million kilograms during the last decade and during 1972 tea production was over 450 million kilograms. But the exports have remained practically static around 200 million kilograms. There might be reasons for this and as is often said that it may be due to change in taste of beverages in consumer countries. However, with the aid of modern science and technology, it should be our sustained endeavour to find out in what manner we can serve our tea so as to make it more attractive. I would suggest that the industry as well as the Government should take special interest in this matter and see that tea which has been holding its field for decades continues to be one of the most popular beverages in the world.

The growth of tea industry is very important in a country like India with its teeming millions and large scale unemployment for providing avenues of gainful employment for a larger number of our people and enabling them to improve their standards of living. While schemes in various fields of industry and agriculture are being planned to meet this important task, it is considered that the tea industry can also play an important role for this purpose and efforts should be made to cultivate such of the areas as are climatically suitable for tea cultivation.

While we are planning to increase our tea production and exports, we cannot lose sight of another important aspect of the industry and that is labour welfare. No industry today can justify itself if it does not address itself to the social and economic betterment of this

important partner in the process of production. Both the employer and employee in the national interest have to work for the common cause of higher productivity and in this the worker plays a much greater role in this labour-intensive industry. I am glad that this approach is being appreciated increasingly and a healthy and cordial atmosphere prevails generally in the plantation industry. Much more is required to be done. I am sure that the planters will be conscious of their responsibilities and set an ideal example of employer-employee relation for higher productivity and better social justice.

Increasing Milk Production

I AM HAPPY to be here to inaugurate the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the National Dairy Research Institute and on this happy occasion I would like to convey to the staff and students my appreciation of the good work they have done since the inception of this Institute in 1923. It is a matter of gratification that the Institute, which had a modest beginning in Bangalore, has since greatly expanded its activities and has centres in Bombay and Kalyani, besides having its main headquarters at Karnal. The growth of this Institute to its present stature is a good augury for the future of our dairy Industry. In all countries where the productivity of milch animals has gone up substantially, the pathway to success has been the introduction of an integrated approach to genetic improvement, health, care, nutrition, processing and marketing.

Our dairy industry has been growing at a fairly rapid pace in recent years. The Bangalore Regional Station of the Institute can claim a fair share of the credit for this advance, since this Station has spread the message of the value of cross-breeding and improved nutrition among the villagers of the area. No wonder, the Bangalore area today is one of the best places in our country for the purchase of cross-breed cows. While I compliment you on the work you have done so far, I need hardly tell you how vast and complex are the dimensions of the problems that you have to tackle and help to solve in the coming years. We have during the last twenty years brought about only a very marginal increase in milk production, from about 19 million tonnes in 1950-51 to the anticipated 23.3 million tonnes in 1973-74. Population growth has far outstripped our capacity to

Inauguration speech at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the National Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore, December 31, 1973.

increase milk production, and per capita availability has actually been reduced. It is unfortunate that such lowering in per capita availability in milk should have taken place, since milk along with pulses constitutes the most important protein source for both children and adults. The story is similar in pulse crops where also during the last ten years there has been a steady decline in per capita availability. It is obvious that when per capita availability goes down, it is the economically handicapped sections of the population who are affected most.

I am aware that during the last few years several steps have been taken both on our own initiative and with assistance from friendly countries to improve the infrastructure for milk production and processing. Here in Bangalore with the help of Denmark we have a Indo-Danish farm, also a Jersey cattle farm, and more recently, a laboratory for the large-scale production of foot and mouth vaccine is being set up under the Indian Veterinary Research Institute. Another important recent development is the institution of the Operation Flood Project with assistance from the World Food Programme. To implement this programme, the Indian Dairy Corporation was set up by the Government of India. Considerable progress has been made in improving our capacity to process milk in dairies located in large cities. Unfortunately however, simultaneous progress has not been there in improving our capacity to produce the milk needed for feeding these plants. This is why the target for milk production for 1978-79 has been set at 28.60 million tonnes. This would imply an increase in production of over five million tonnes from now, an order of increase greater than what we have been able to achieve during the last 20 years.

Some of the major deficiencies in our dairy development programmes have now been realized. The National Commission on agriculture in its interim report on milk production through small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers has stressed the need for propagating an integrated approach on the lines so successfully adopted in the Kaira District of Gujarat. Unless a major thrust on the milk production front on these lines is initiated by all concerned, the position relating to the availability of milk will get worse.

Parts of Asia represent the regions where the domestication of important farm animals and crop plants started from the dawn of civilization. As a result, we have several very good breeds of both cows and buffaloes. Cattle are not only needed for purpose of milk but also constitute the most important source of farm power, manure and fuel. Before the discovery of fertilizers, farm yard manure and the cultivation of pulse crops provided the most important mechanisms of feeding hungry soils. Bones became important sources of phos-

phorus and other nutrients. Our problems started when cattle ceased to occupy the integral position in the farming system as in earlier days. With the increasing pressure to produce enough food grains for the fast-growing population, little or no attention was paid to allotting land for feeding animals. Cows and buffaloes were left by and large to fend for themselves or at the best got some quantities of straw and other fodder. Therefore, unless we approach the problem of dairy development as an integral part of scientific land use planning, we will not be able to achieve our targets in milk production.

Everywhere in the country now, besides other difficulties, we hear of the impending milk crisis. Various reasons are given for the growing milk shortage in different parts of the country. You have standardised methods of stepping up the productivity of both buffaloes and cows. We cannot wait for improving our milk production until crossbreeding has been undertaken on an extensive scale and thereby better genetic material created. Experience in the Kaira District has shown that an ordinary surti buffalo can give four litres of milk per diem instead of three litres provided it is given a little more food. As in human beings, the shortage of calories is retarding the productivity of our farm animals. We thus come back once again to the same conclusion which Jawaharlal Nehru vividly portrayed in his statement "If agriculture does not move, nothing else will move".

We repeat such statements in our speeches but I am sorry to say that there is not yet adequate realisation among our people on both the potential and urgency of transforming scientifically the productivity of our crops and farm animals. If we still do not wake up and start to act, we will have to be content with academic discussions on various kinds of crisis and their causes. Action and not discussion is the need of today. Therefore, while I congratulate you on the work you have done in the past, I wish to remind you that the tasks awaiting you are now exceedingly urgent and should be carried out with great vigour and devotion. I wish you success and godspeed in this great and exciting task.

Strategies for Rural Development

I AM HAPPY to be in the midst of veteran workers with life-long devotion to the cause of rural welfare. I am sure the Seminar which

Speech Inaugurating the Seminar on Strategies for Rural Development, New Delhi, February 9, 1974.

I have the honour to inaugurate will evolve a comprehensive and action-oriented strategy for rural development.

We cannot forget that more than eighty per cent of our population lives in rural India and the progress and prosperity of our nation depends entirely on how far we are able to improve the economic and social life of the rural masses. It has been my faith for nearly half a century ever since I came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi that the key to the future development of our nation rested on our ability to bring about a total economic and social transformation of our villages in which—as Gandhiji so often used to say—the real Indian lived. As a matter of fact, as early as 1931, I prepared a blueprint on this question and sent it to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru where I mentioned the need of organising the seven hundred thousand villages in the country on a purposeful basis. At that time, I felt that if we could have one dedicated social worker for every seven villages we would be able to energise the rural folk. What was required, and is even now required, is to have dedicated workers who will completely identify themselves with the problems, hopes and aspirations of the people.

The strategy for rural development that we evolve should have both a social and economic content. In my view, it should tackle the twin problems of ensuring maximum agricultural productivity and a massive growth of agro-industries. In our country there are a few pockets of rural prosperity notably in some areas of Punjab and Haryana. If we analyse carefully the reasons for this, one finds invariably that it is only in areas where agriculture has been developed into a core of an industrial network that agrarian prosperity follows agricultural progress. This would imply the need for an integrated plan of cropping and the growth of agro-industries.

Unless we involve the people in the formulation and implementation of Plans, we cannot make much progress. The Panchayats, representing the collective will of the people, can and should play a positive role in economic development. Panchayats in our country, unfortunately, have earned a bad name as being caste and faction-ridden. This must change, and we should banish outright these old-world habits and attitudes. For rural development to be most fruitful, Panchayats and Panchayat organizations should be made the most effective instruments. Bureaucratisation and politicalisation have also been the bane of Panchayat institutions. These factors could be obviated by emphasising social accountability and voluntary action at grass-roots levels. Our rural folk are essentially good people and if we provide them the right leadership and approach their problems with sympathy and understanding, the villages of India today can be converted into ideal centres of co-operative community life. The

progress of the entire nation depends upon the progress of the rural community.

In my view, village reconstruction with self-reliance and self-sufficiency as the two principal goals to be achieved, is the most effective way to meet the challenges of poverty and unemployment. It is only through utilising the available manpower resources in the best manner possible that we can achieve a break-through from the present stagnation.

You are well aware of my emphasis on the settling of the landless through land colonisation schemes. While land may be allotted to individuals, it must be ensured that it is not alienated. In our anxiety to provide land to the landless we are now embarking on programmes by which we are trying to give *pattas* and rights to individuals. Giving of an acre or two to an individual landless farmer, in my opinion, does not solve any problem, for he does not have the necessary wherewithal for the development of the land and putting it to productive purpose. Such uneconomic holdings usually go back to the money-lenders or to the big farmers who try ultimately to deprive these poor persons of the land. Whenever we give land to the landless it must be made clear that they should form into co-operatives so that they can jointly cultivate it and derive maximum benefits. There would be collective ownership and, therefore, for practical purposes, the entire project area will be managed as a part of the larger entity and individual interest will be subject to the common will and progress. Where there is a collective endeavour, several aspects of modern scientific agriculture like proper pest control and water management becomes capable of effective adoption. The essence of my programme is that all available land will be put to agricultural activity, with a vast network of cottage and small scale industries growing round them. Women have also an important place in this scheme, because they can engage themselves profitably in occupations like bee-keeping, poultry, dairy, weaving, tailoring, etc. This, in my judgment, is the best way to raise the standard of living in our country by providing full employment to our rural masses.

In the difficult situation we are facing in the country today, village Panchayats could play an effective role in mitigating peoples sufferings. The root cause of the problem is the shortage and rising prices of food and other articles necessary for day-to-day life. The take-over of whole-sale trade in food-grains has not yielded the results expected. In spite of a bumper crop in many parts of the country last year, the hopes of improved procurement have not been fulfilled. On the contrary there were complaints of large-scale withholding of stocks and hoarding. The formulation of a workable and purposeful plan for procurement, stocking, and distribution of food-grains—fine as

well as coarse—applicable throughout the country and its successful implementation is of the highest importance. For fixing any realistic procurement targets, the Panchayats could be made the most effective agencies, and every District Officer should be made personally responsible for working this out and carrying it through. The Panchayats have all the land records, and local pressures, if any, can be dealt with more easily at this level. The food-grains that are not coming into the procurement net obviously get into the hands of the hoarders and find their way into the black-market. Firm and determined administrative action backed by vigilant public opinion alone can prevent this.

I have often expressed the view that we can continue to ignore, only at the peril of our future, the great improvement that we can bring about in our rural economy through small, simple and inexpensive measures. Mahatma Gandhi emphasised this view-point when he said and I quote “There is hardly anything of daily use in the home which villagers have not made before and cannot make now. If we perform the mental trick and fix our gaze upon them, we can put millions of rupees into the pockets the villagers whereas at the present moment, we are exploiting the villagers without making any return worth the name”. These ideas really imply making the most effective use of our biological and physical resources by promoting the adoption of modern technology on a highly decentralised basis.

Optimum and economic use of water is a science we have yet to learn well through trial and error and a great deal of scientific observation. We should now concern ourselves more and more with the development of techniques which can help to get more crop for each drop of water and to develop high yielding varieties of pulses, oilseeds and industrial crops. An integrated land and water use plan must be drawn for each crop soil block involving an appropriate combination of crops, animal husbandry, fishery and forestry. We need a new design of semi-arid and rural architecture which helps to conserve every drop of water for human, animal and plant use, and which promotes recycling of all wastes including human wastes.

It is a pity that we are neglecting the sound age-old agricultural practices which have stood the test of time. Take for example the green and other organic manures that our farmers used to gather meticulously. It is of utmost importance that we use organic fertilisers as much as possible. I am not against the use of chemical fertilisers but it would be dangerous to use them without adequate quantities of organic manure. We must revive the practice of storing of green and other organic manure in every possible way.

Land Colonisation Scheme

I AM INDEED very happy to meet you this afternoon. I am glad to learn that you have discussed this morning the integrated land colonisation scheme, a subject in which I am deeply interested and which I have been propagating for quite some time.

At the outset, I would like to congratulate the Ministry of Agriculture and more particularly Dr. M. S. Swaminathan who has made a thorough study of the scheme and has made it capable of practical implementation. Nothing gives one greater satisfaction than to see the fruition of the ideas one has been cherishing for long, and, as you may all know, this is an approach that I have been advocating for more than forty years. I am happy to note that some State Governments have earmarked some areas where this experiment could be successfully tried. According to my conception the land colonisation schemes have more than the limited objective of providing employment or improving agriculture, making it modern and scientific. These colonies, in my opinion, should become the nucleus of all developmental activities. It is nothing new, for Gandhiji always laid stress on the organisation of self-reliant rural communities.

Simultaneously with the transformation that we wish to bring about on the agricultural front, our attempt should be to set up a number of agro-based industries and generate a new awareness among the rural population. In this connection, I was gratified to go through the note that Dr. Swaminathan has circulated to the Seminar participants on some of the approaches to rural development. I must say he has put my ideas in a nutshell and in a much better manner than I have myself done. I have seen the design-drawing that he has circulated which, to my mind, will substantially translate my slogan 'Every acre a pasture, every home a factory'.

In regard to the reconstruction of our rural economy which forms the basis of our economic and social life, I would like to mention that while I am not against modernisation, we should not forget the age-old experience and knowledge of our farmers which has come down through centuries. In the name of bringing progress to our rural life we should not superimpose an urban western culture which may not have any relevance. Such an attempt at superimposition of an alien culture will not help to achieve rural resurgence. Unless and until we build a strong and sure foundation of our rural life, utilising local talents, material and resources, whatever we try to achieve may not yield the desired results.

Speech at the Seminar organised by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, March 20, 1974.

The energy crisis faced even by advanced countries has opened their eyes to the fragility of the entire system. To us in India, this has a lesson. The shortage of fertilisers and the limited availability of agricultural inputs will act as a serious constraint on our improvement in agricultural production and productivity. While efforts should be made to see that agricultural inputs are adequately available to the farmers, we must see how best we can utilise the urban and rural wastes which can help to meet at any rate a portion of the manure needs of our fields.

The research laboratories dealing with the different aspects of agriculture should now make a serious attempt—not that they are not doing, but more intense efforts should be made—to carry their experiences to the farmers. For example, some years ago, I made a suggestion regarding soil testing. The students in different schools in the rural areas might be asked to bring a sample of soil from their land which can be tested in the laboratories by the science teachers in the schools so that proper advice could be given to the farmers through the students who come from the rural stock.

I am not an expert; nevertheless I feel we should think of simple and easy methods to reach our farmers. The land colonisation scheme that I have suggested has not only an economic content but, more important, a social content. It should attempt to design a new living. If these colonies are successfully worked out, they will act as catalysts and will make the individual farmers also come together on a co-operative basis. After all, once the farmers see that some tangible results have been achieved by someone through co-operative efforts, they themselves will be enthused to come together and take advantage of such methods and practices. Of course, many of you are engaged already in different areas and your success itself is a proof of the increasing awareness among the farmers to take advantage of the modern scientific knowledge available in the country. For the colonies that we want to establish in different States, we should take care to select people who are dedicated and see that real community life is established, for the impediments we notice today on the agricultural front are not only the dearth of agricultural inputs but the absence of collective community action. While the progress that we have achieved with Sarvodaya workers and others engaged in community action is only limited to some areas in the country, the problem is a gigantic one. But, as an optimist, I am sure we will be able to carry this message to almost all parts of the country during the next few years. The very fact that voluntary agencies and individuals and agricultural universities and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have come together in this Seminar amply shows that we will achieve positive results.

Labour

Healthy Trade Unionism

I AM INDEED happy to be here this afternoon to participate in the Convocation of the Xavier Labour Relations Institute and also present the Sir Jehangir Ghandy Medal for Industrial Peace to Shri Prakash Lal Tandon. I have been closely associated with this Institute since its inception and have watched with interest the steady growth of this academic body. If the Xavier Labour Relations Institute has today established a name for itself both nationally and internationally the credit must go entirely to Rev. Fr. Tome, Fr. Kennedy and their band of enthusiastic colleagues.

On this occasion, I would like to congratulate the employers, the workers and their organisations for the spirit of unity, dedication and patriotism displayed by them during the recent conflict. They have demonstrated that in times of need they would work unitedly for the larger national interest relegating to the background their own sectional interests. In fact, the unity seen among all classes of our people is evidence of the strong democratic base on which we have built our society. While I am happy about what the employers and workers have done, as one who has spent more than half a century of his life in the cause of improving industrial relations, I appeal to them that they must continue to vigorously pursue the same unity and spirit of determination to win economic freedom for our people. Rapid economic development will be possible only if the farmers in the fields and the workers in the factories keep up a high level of production and productivity.

I would strongly urge the working class who today stand divided into different unions, mostly based on political ideologies, to forge unity in their ranks. I have been a staunch advocate for more than two decades of the concept of "one union in one industry". I do realise that there are formidable obstacles in the way of realisation of this ideal immediately. Nevertheless, I believe that trade unions belonging to different affiliations could come together and have a common committee to represent to the employers on fundamental and crucial issues and at the same time retaining individual identity in dealing with minor problems. I am glad that there is a growing realisation among leaders of public opinion that the ideal of one union in

Speech at the Convocation of Xavier Labour Relations Institute, and also presentation of Sir Jehangir Ghandy Medal for industrial peace, Jamshedpur, February 12, 1972.

one industry should be brought about. In this, employers also have a crucial role to play. They must create a climate for good industrial relations by a proper appreciation of the role of labour which is a co-sharer in the fortunes of industry. While everyone agrees that the ideal of one union must be realised, many believe that this can be imposed through legislation. The method, I am suggesting is purely voluntary, and I believe this will bring about the desired objective in a smoother manner than through legal imposition. In this connection, I am happy to note that three central trade union organisations have agreed to set up a joint forum to reach common understanding on important labour and industrial problems. This, in my view, is a healthy sign and I am sure even the other unions that are not affiliated to the central organisation will follow suit and help in the formation of such joint committees. In this connection, I specially appreciate the efforts made by my esteemed friend, Shri R. K. Khadilkar who is taking many measures to improve Labour-Management relations and provide a positive climate for good industrial relations.

Another matter I would like to refer to is regarding the presence of outsiders in the trade union movement. While in the past the outsiders were very useful and necessary, today we find that the workers themselves are not only educated but in many cases have led the unions with considerable success and on most scientific lines. Today we find that the new worker in the new industrial system is required to have a fairly good degree of formal education. This can help in producing the leadership from within. Removal of outsiders should be through voluntary methods and not legally imposed from without. Once the leadership from the working class is found to be successful, outside leadership will slowly decrease.

I am very happy to note that my appeal both to the employers and the workers to have a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs has found some response. In the meeting that was held last week, three major trade unions have reached an understanding that they would depend more on the machinery of collective bargaining to settle the differences with the employers. I very much appreciate that the three unions have decided to set up a joint national council of trade unions to prevent inter-union rivalry, promote healthy trade unionism and develop self-reliance.

Among the nations of the world, India today has come to occupy a position of respect and admiration : respect, because of our strict adherence to principles of international morality and behaviour; admiration, because even in the face of what might well have proved calamitous to our political and economic stability, our Government not only maintained its unity and integrity but, in fact, emerged stronger.

This speaks well of the people of India. We are currently witnessing a mighty upsurge, a willingness and a readiness to share the sufferings, and build out of them a new India, confident of her destiny. The climate is now most propitious for positive and purposeful action. There are vast millions in India for whom social change can no longer remain a mere promise. The farmers in the fields and the workers in the factories have a primary role in bringing about a rapid transformation of our society. If they perform their duties well, the task of the Government will be easy. The well-being of more than five hundred fifty million people of India is a fascinating prospect. Let us, all together, work towards its fulfilment.

One Industry One Union

I AM, INDEED, happy to be here today to inaugurate this Seminar—Multiplicity of Trade Unions and Its Effect on Industrial Relations and Productivity—organised by the National and the Mysore State Productivity Councils. At the outset I would like to mention that I have accepted this invitation for two reasons. First, to me who has spent more than half a century in the cause of labour, this subject has been very dear to my heart. I have always believed that 'one union in one industry' should be our objective so that we can promote a strong and healthy trade union movement in the country. I have been a staunch advocate and, if I may say so, a propagandist of this ideal during the last two decades. As you all know, labour has been my first love, whatever positions I have held, be it a Minister, Ambassador, Governor, Vice-President or President. Secondly, in the present context of our economic development, fullest unity in the rank and file of the working class with the twin aim of protecting and promoting the interests of the workers and increasing productivity has assumed the greatest significance. Our national goals can be realised only if the basis of industrial democracy is securely laid and the *sine qua non* for this is a strong and scientific labour movement.

The main weakness from which the trade union movement in our country suffers today has been well summed up in the Second Five Year Plan : multiplicity of trade unions, political rivalries, lack of

Speech while inaugurating the Seminar on "Multiplicity of Trade Unions and Its Effect on Industrial Relations and Productivity", Bangalore, June 15, 1972.

resources and disunity in the ranks of workers. I would add to these the undue dependence on third party settlement, especially in the form of compulsory adjudication.

In India, in the early stages of the trade union movement, neither the craft basis nor the class basis was encouraged. Unions in India were established mostly on the basis of one union in one industrial unit or industry. We fully realised the perils of division. Multiplicity of unions in the same establishment leads to inter-union rivalries which ultimately cut at the root of the movement. It weakens the power for collective bargaining, and reduces the effectiveness of workers in securing their legitimate rights. If one union agrees with the employer on a particular issue, another union disagrees and also raises a new issue. This will neither be conducive to the promotion of good industrial relations nor can it help in increasing production and productivity so vital to national prosperity.

I am glad that the workers' representatives of the leading organisations—AITUC, INTUC and BMS—have agreed, in their meeting held last month, to set up a national trade union council to eliminate inter-union rivalry and that they had also reached earlier in March, a limited accord on vital questions like recognition of trade unions, place of collective bargaining in industrial relations, right to strike, etc. All those interested in the trade union movement should welcome this. However, this marks only the first step and many more things are to be achieved.

I have been stressing for more than two decades the need for an approach, and I have myself outlined one, to achieve this ideal. I do not claim that the method I espouse is foolproof but in my opinion this can help us to move forward towards the realisation of the objective.

To secure the much-desired ideal of 'one union in one industry', the Government may authorise the Chief Labour Commissioner to scrutinise carefully the *bona fide* membership of various unions in industries in the central sphere with the respective representatives of the trade unions assisting him in this task. Thereafter, the genuine membership of different unions may be listed in a single register with the approval of their bodies. As a further step, the different unions should agree to conduct, under the supervision of the Chief Labour Commissioner or someone authorised by him, an election of representatives through secret ballot and on the basis of proportional representation by single transferable vote, so that a new body could emerge, representing all the existing unions and their interests. The duty of this body should be confined to fundamental and basic issues affecting the interest of the entire working class—those relating to conditions of service, hours of work, fixation of wages, bonus, rationalisation, etc. This body would

be in a position to negotiate with employers usefully and on equal terms representing the interests of all the workers. Similarly, the Labour Commissioners in the various states should be authorised to take action along these lines in respect of industries within their jurisdiction.

In dealing with the problem of forging unity, I feel the best method would be to have a secret ballot to check the strength of the different unions. The verification idea which has been hitherto followed has led to some criticism on the part of some workers' organisations. As a transitional measure, therefore, before the unions accept the idea of a secret ballot, we can continue to adhere to the verification method to know the *bona fide* membership of the union organisations. The verification of *bona fide* membership by the Chief Labour Commissioner with the representatives of different unions will help to weed out the bogus membership. At the same time the present approach can serve a limited purpose only. It will not help, however, in promoting the cause of 'one union in one industry', for unions, in the existing arrangements, will vie with each other in increasing their membership, sometimes resorting to methods which will not be fair and the mutual hostility and inter-union rivalries will continue to thrive. Connected with this problem are two major issues. First, there should be uniformity of subscription for membership by all unions. Secondly, the present law regarding the registration of trade unions should be changed. For a union to be formed in a plant, a certain minimum percentage of the total strength of the workers in the plant, say, about 10 percent or so must be its members. That alone should entitle the union for registration. The measure I suggest will incidentally help in unionising the workers at the plant level, thereby generating a greater awareness among the workers of the necessity of joining the trade union movement.

Selection of a sole bargaining agent, whatever means one may adopt to do so, will not provide a satisfactory solution to the prevailing multiplicity of unions. Among the many causes responsible for the weakness of the labour movement in the country today, the foremost, in my opinion, is the prevalence of rival unions in an industry. Very often the reason for their existence is not that the unions differ significantly regarding the basis of the solution of the economic problems but it is the injection of political ideologies in the trade union movement invariably to the detriment of the real and genuine economic interests of the working class that is responsible for the tardy growth of the movement. I do not, for a moment, suggest that the workers should not be politically conscious, but the use of the trade

union movements as a pawn in the political chessboard will never help the cause of the workers nor can it promote healthy trade unionism.

While I am a staunch advocate of 'one union in one industry', in the present situation as it exists, we have to take into account the regional and plant-level variations and differences. Craft unions should, no doubt, be totally avoided and at the same time we may allow the plant-level unions to be formed as a part of the industry-level unions.

Some of the opponents of the plant-level unions argue that this would not promote a national labour market and would go against achieving a uniform wage policy to be adopted throughout the country. We have to be realistic and take cognizance of the existing facts whatever may be one's conception of ideal conditions. In a vast country like India where regional variations, even plant to plant differences exist, the industrywise union without allowing for plant union to operate will not be able to deliver the goods. The plant-level organisation of unions puts a heavy responsibility on the trade unions, for the latter should have a full grasp of the plant-level problems and also of the wider and bigger industry-level problems.

It should be the endeavour, as far as possible, that disputes relating to labour are settled at the plant level itself assuring full scope for internal settlement of the dispute. The collective bargaining agency consisting of representatives of the workers and management at the plant level must meet regularly at fixed intervals so that the differences between the workers and employers are resolved at the earliest possible opportunity before they assume the status of a dispute with serious proportions.

The Government should assist in establishing, in various industries, a panel of conciliators from among whom both, the workers and the employers, can choose a single conciliator or a board of conciliation. They should be entrusted with the task of bringing about greater area of agreement and explore the possibilities of solving the differences between the contending parties. On matters where facts are disputed, the Government, at their discretion, may appoint courts of enquiry which are merely of a fact-finding nature.

As an additional measure to solve the differences or disputes between the employers and workers, the tripartite and bipartite machinery of the Indian Labour Conference should play its part. Instead of merely being *ad hoc* bodies, as they are now, meeting once or twice a year, there should be a permanent machinery at the State as well as the all-India level. This machinery shall have an adequate staff and technical experts, collecting up-to-date information and full facts and figures relating to the finance and technique of all the industries.

Further, this machinery should have under its aegis different panels for each of the key and basic industries consisting of representatives of employers, workers and technical experts. This permanent tripartite machinery would be in a position to place at the disposal of the expert body the basic facts collected by them. This would facilitate the experts to deal with specific issues of strikes and lock-outs and to try to solve the differences and bring about an amicable settlement. When a dispute is not solved at the tripartite labour machinery level, Industrial Courts on the lines of the Industrial Court Act of 1919 of U.K. should be constituted and the disputes referred to them. These courts should be presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court with assessors sitting on both sides to help in reaching conclusions. It should, however, be clearly understood that the Industrial Court is not a court in the accepted sense of the term because the verdict of the Industrial Court cannot be enforced legally on the parties. It is only advisory and not mandatory in character. At the same time the very stature and status of the Court will make the parties respect the findings and advice of the Court and reliance will have to be placed on public opinion which will assist in the acceptance of its verdict.

From my own experience I can say that it is not beyond the genius of our trade unions to resolve differences amicably through collective bargaining and voluntary methods. In fact, in Kerala, the Industrial Relations Board consisting of the representatives of the employers, workers from different industries and the Government representatives greatly helped to promote good industrial relations. I used to preside over many meetings when I was the Governor of Kerala and I found the Industrial Relations Board and the various sub-committees were functioning very effectively. The Industrial Relations Board consisted of representatives of different unions subscribing to different ideologies but in discussions they always took a practical approach and many of the issues were settled across the table through direct negotiations and discussions. In fact, when any major issue arose pertaining to a dispute in a particular industry, the Industrial Relations Board discussed the various aspects and gave its opinion which was generally accepted by the parties to a dispute. Further, we also formed a voluntary Arbitration Board which tried to resolve the disputes and I must say it was found extremely useful in getting the differences between the employers and workers settled out of court and without involving themselves in costly litigation. In my view, if the experiment can be successful in Kerala, why not we try it in other States also?

The different steps that I have suggested should all be over in the shortest possible time, say in six to eight months, so that disputes are not prolonged and the various steps that I envisage will reduce the

points of dispute to the minimum. From the analysis I have just now made the need for promoting unity in the ranks of the workers and strengthening the trade union movement can well be understood.

If these different processes do not produce a settlement of the dispute, the parties should be left to take direct action. The suggestion that an unresolved dispute may be left ultimately to be settled by a strike or lock-out, need not cause any real apprehension. A desire to avoid the substantial loss due to production stoppage, including the risk involved in the strike, constitutes the most effective inducement ever devised for compromise and agreement around the conference table. Each party has a strong self-interest in arriving at a settlement even though many 'concessions' may have to be made.

While these measures are intended for peaceful times, the Government can always have recourse to emergency regulations when there is threat to law and order, or when a strike or lock-out would result in irremediable consequences to the community. Since the government has inherent powers to tackle emergencies, as and when they arise, it is not necessary to introduce any special provisions in the normal working of the employer-employee relations. Ultimately, public opinion would play a decisive role in inducing the parties to honour the findings and accept the decisions of these bodies. If the foundation of such a machinery, as I have just described, is laid on a sound basis and in right earnest, this would pave the way for the complete realisation of industrial democracy in the country.

The method I have suggested will help greatly to foster good industrial relations which is a pre-requisite for economic growth. In my opinion, the situation is considerably worsened by the fact that we have in the statute book the adjudication machinery which least promotes the growth of healthy trade union movement in the country. My views on compulsory adjudication are well-known : I consider it to be Enemy Number 1 of the working class, for, it not only robs the initiative of the workers to try for a settlement by themselves, but equally involves them in a costly dose of litigation. The presence of compulsory adjudication machinery in the Statute Book precludes the Parties to a dispute in placing all their cards on the table in the earlier stages of negotiations. They try to keep back the 'ace ones' for the final game of compulsory adjudication. In view of this, I feel we must evolve a basically new approach. In a sense it is not a new approach but an old one which has been found to be successful in the past before adjudication became part of the machinery for the settlement of disputes.

Productivity today is indeed at a low ebb in many industries and the workers cannot escape their share of responsibility. Labour must

consider it its supreme duty to maintain production and productivity at a high level for they are co-sharers and co-partners in progress. They should no longer consider themselves as mere wage earners working for their daily bread, but citizens of a free country trying to build a new order of society where justice and equality will prevail.

In all these things, there is no finality and it is through the method of trial and error we will be able to reach final conclusions. I am sure this Seminar will focus the attention of the various parties interested in national regeneration and see that we bring about a proper climate in which good industrial relations become the order of the day and industrial growth is at the maximum.

Need for Social Justice

I HAVE ACCEPTED the invitation from my old and valued friend, Mr. Wilfred Jenks, Director-General of ILO, to be with you this morning, for two obvious reasons. First and foremost, we have with us His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, who has taken an abiding interest in the progress of the ILO. His Imperial Majesty participated in the 50th anniversary celebrations of the ILO some two years ago and I also followed him by addressing their sessions in June 1970. While international organisations like the League of Nations floundered on the rocks, the ILO has made perceptible progress because it has always striven to live up to the ideal enshrined in the Philadelphia Charter of "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". Who can forget the impassioned pleas made by Emperor Haile Selassie before the League of Nations in the Thirties but power-mad nations chose to disregard truth and justice and in the end stultified themselves and buried the League of Nations fathoms deep. The lesson is clear. I am glad that ILO has kept the real spirit of internationalism alive.

You are all aware that labour has been my first love throughout my long public career of over five decades. I have been closely associated with the ILO from its inception in 1919. I am gratified to find that one of my cherished dreams of regional co-operation has become a reality. I had the privilege to represent India as a Labour

Delegate in 1927. At that Session, I pleaded that while the ILO was doing excellent work, it should be its endeavour to focus attention on the regional problems and to convene regional conferences. Two decades later—in 1947—I had the privilege of participating in the First Asian Regional Labour Conference held in New Delhi, as a representative of the Government of India. Speaking at that Conference, I stressed that while the regional conference was a welcome step, it should not be construed as a substitute for universal or collective action to be undertaken on a global scale which alone would lead to the fulfilment of the objectives of the ILO. My association with the ILO continued and it was in 1950 that I attended the Asian Regional Conference held at Nuwara Eliya in Ceylon when I was India's High Commissioner there.

We need a plan of social justice. The social and economic order required by the New Society which we are building should appear not as an objective to be achieved in the distant future, but it must appear as a reality at every step of policy and practice, pervading all our activities. This is our concept of a socialist society which we are trying to establish and build in India. I hope that the ILO will give a lead in this process.

The constant labours on the part of the ILO to develop its activities so as to encompass the very many facets of the life of the worker as an economic being, has been primarily instrumental in its becoming universally accepted where both the employers and the workers with the assistance of Governments, could find satisfactory solutions to many of the baffling problems confronting mankind. In fact, it is the tripartite nature of the organisation that provides for its basic strength and sustenance, for if labour is to play its part, both for its own well-being and for the common good of the country, it is to operate in a system where there are both employers and a Government. While there may be occasional conflicts between labour and management, employers and labour cannot be perpetually at loggerheads. The International Labour Organisation, through its many annual conferences, has helped to focus the attention of the world to providing labour satisfactory conditions of work and service, and prevented the exploitation of the workers which was accepted as something normal in the past. The convention regarding hours of work and conditions of service, the very right to freedom of association which the ILO has espoused, has made many Governments listen to the voice of reason and see that its future progress depended on a contented labour force which, in any form of government, forms the main base of the entire economic and social structure. It should be realised that unless and

until the labour that provides the necessary effort in the field of economics is assured of its rightful place, there is a positive danger of the social fabric collapsing, bringing into a fore a host of problems. In the present-day world, we find all over, due to the increasing cost of living, there has been a growing agitation on the part of the working class to be assured of the basic economic wherewithals of life. This is not something unnatural for it is the very nature of a human being to strive and improve his standard of living. It is something natural that when they come accross an obstacle, there is always a tendency to revolt. The only manner in which we can arrest this growing unrest and confusion is to see that labour is assured of its rightful place. At the same time, I would like to stress on my working class comrades that the primary responsibility devolves on them to see that productivity and production is maintained at the highest possible tempo. There is no use of saying that the wages must be increased without any step in the direction of increased productivity. If the wage factor is not matched by a proportionate, or more than a proportionate increase in productivity and production, the very system will not able to adjust itself to the growing demands of labour. In developing countries, we find an increasing awareness on the part of labour that they should be paid what is due to them. This conflict can be resolved only if wages are linked to productivity and prices. I would call upon specialised bodies like yours to devote your full attention to this pressing problem of wage-price spiral. The developing countries of Asia and Africa are facing formidable problems and they can solve them only if there is common understanding and acceptance that hard work, and hard work alone, can bring about increasing equality through increasing prosperity. Mahatma Gandhi once said : "All rights accrue from a duty well done".

I thank you all for affording me an opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you.

Importance of Industrial Peace

I AM, INDEED, happy to be here this morning to participate in the 14th and 15th Conferences of the Indian Society of Labour Economics.

Speech while inaugurating the 14th and 15th Conferences of the Indian Society of Labour Economics, Meerut, November 6, 1972.

During the last 15 years, ever since its inception in December 1957, the Society has, through the annual conferences, seminars and its journal, been engaged in an objective study of the problems of labour. While our Society has made considerable advance during the last few years, yet much remains to be accomplished. We would, I am sure, with the co-operation of all the members and the sympathisers, be able to make the Society an effective spokesman on behalf of the academic world on vital problems of labour. When I say, 'academic', I do not mean, nor do I suggest, that the views of labour economists are not of any practical value. We should be able to contribute to the proper evaluation and understanding of the very many intricate issues by our impartial study thereby benefiting the Government, employers and workers. We are, however, aware that labour problems cannot be studied in isolation but as part of a social and economic system and the suggestions that we make have a direct bearing on day-to-day problems.

We have appropriately chosen important subjects—National Employment Policy, Problems of Technological change and Settlement of Industrial Disputes—for discussion this year at our conference. I am sure the papers from experts and the ensuing discussions will be fruitful and will help to evolve proper norms for future guidance.

Today more than at any time, the major issue facing our country is the problem of growing unemployment. It is well realized that this cannot be solved by piecemeal or haphazard methods, but by evolving a concerted national employment policy. Our efforts at economic progress, I am afraid, will not succeed if we do not bear in mind the need for increasing the employment potential to absorb the present and future man-power in gainful occupations.

Some two years ago, I advocated a scheme to solve the problem of unemployment in the rural sector. I had suggested that the rural community should be so organised as to be self-reliant and thereby help in the achievement of a process of self-generating growth. To begin with, we must start land colonisation through a network of pilot projects. These projects are intended to be compact units, essentially self-dependent and in the long run self-supporting. Once these colonies establish themselves, it would be possible to build around them small scale and cottage industries suited to the localities, generating more employment. The most important feature of this programme is community co-operative effort.

I am very happy to note that the Government announced in the last week that 15 projects have been selected as pilot and intensive rural projects for providing suitable manual employment to everybody in the age group of 15 to 59 years. These projects, if successful, can

provide the basis for framing suitable policy of rural employment for the Fifth Five-Year Plan throughout the country. I must caution that such projects can be successful only if there are dedicated workers who are partners in such community and co-operative efforts. There must be zeal, enthusiasm and determination. Those who are associated with such projects whether directly employed or otherwise, should consider that they are not only wage-earners or working for a living but are partners in building a new order of society which can totally transform both the economic and social structures of our society.

It is unfortunate to note that industrial disputes are on the increase as also the man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts both in the public and private sectors in recent years. This has made everyone ponder over the remedial steps that should be taken. My approach to the problem of industrial relations is well known which I have been advocating for more than two decades. As I study the industrial relations scene more, I am convinced all the more that the method that I have suggested can be experimented with advantage.

If these different processes do not produce a settlement of the disputes, the parties should be left free to resort to direct action. The suggestion that an unresolved dispute may be left ultimately to be settled by a strike or a lockout, need not cause any real apprehension. A desire to avoid the substantial loss due to production stoppage, including the risk involved in the strike, constitutes the most effective inducement ever devised for compromise and agreement around the conference table. Each party has a strong self-interest in arriving at a settlement even though many 'concessions' may have to be made.

I am glad we are also discussing the general subject of wage-price relationship. I have always been pleading on the need for linking up of wages, productivity and prices. Due to increasing cost of living, there has been a growing unrest on the part of the working class. This is but natural. At the same time, I would like to urge upon my working class comrades to realise that the primary responsibility devolves on them to see that productivity and production is maintained at the highest possible tempo. There is no use of saying that the wages must be increased without any step in the direction of increased productivity. If the wages factor is not matched by a proportionate, or more than a proportionate increase in productivity and production, the very system will not be able to adjust itself to the growing demands of labour. Our past experience has shown the phenomenon of the benefits of increased wages offset by the increase in prices, defeating the very purpose of raising wages. Here I am sure we should be able to provide proper guidelines.

Thank you once again for the opportunity given to me to participate in this Conference.

Ensure Safety of Workers

I AM VERY happy to be with you this morning to participate in this very pleasant function. I would first like to congratulate all the winners of the National Safety Awards and the Shram Vir National Awards. I would also like to felicitate all the contestants who took part in these competitions. They have all helped to set up a very worthy example which I hope many more will try to emulate in the future.

Our Constitution requires the State to make provision for just and humane conditions of work. Government has legislated on safety and on health and welfare of workers and has set up inspection agencies to ensure compliance with the statute. But legislation takes care of only the basic requirements. A great deal more can be achieved by the joint efforts of managements and workers. Safety and occupational health of workers involve intense human problems and issues and form an integral part of the socialistic order of society that we are trying to build.

As the National Commission on Labour has remarked : "Safety should become a habit with employers and workers. At present it has assumed the form of a ritual. The employer provides safety devices if he must; the worker uses the safety equipment, if at all he does it, to complete a formality." We all realise that industrialisation is vital for the progress of our country. More complex and sophisticated industries have to be established. We also know that while new hazards are inherent in such industries, human ingenuity has been able to devise and provide adequate safety devices, which, if used properly, can confer a high degree of protection on workers. What is needed is a sense of personal involvement in this essentially humanitarian task. I would commend to managements and trade unions alike to take a lively interest in this endeavour and devote the utmost attention and energy to schemes designed to ensure the safety of workers.

Speech while distributing the National Safety Awards and Shramvir National Awards, New Delhi, November 17, 1973.

One sometimes comes across the erroneous notion that safety measures are not compatible with higher productivity. As a matter of fact, quite the contrary is the case. Experience shows that where managements have taken pains to introduce the necessary steps for bringing about reduction in accidents, the outcome has been not only a high level of safety but also increase in productivity and harmonious industrial relations. On the other hand, where managements focus a lot of attention only on technology, but bestow little thought on the human aspects, they fail to achieve optimum production.

While technological improvements are certainly desirable, equal attention should be directed to humanising work through bettering of the environment and removal of hazards which contribute to accidents. I would also like to emphasise the need for better design of plant, equipment and machinery, so that work is shorn of stresses and strains as much as possible and the operator is in a position to contribute his best.

Where workers are properly motivated, their performance leaves very little to be desired. The scheme of Shram Vir National Awards is a welcome measure designed to encourage workers to contribute towards the betterment of the enterprise in which they work. The suggestions which they make are usually derived from their own practical experience of work in the establishment and therefore have usefulness and validity of their own. They are also potent instruments for developing a sense of participation in the life and work of the organisation. I am sure that a suggestion scheme, properly devised and imaginatively operated, can have the most beneficial effects on employer-employee relations.

I am glad to know that many of the suggestions have led to saving of foreign exchange and to import substitution. I would ask all the managements to introduce and encourage Suggestion Schemes in their establishments. It is only through such endeavours that confidence in our technical and technological capability will be built up and the country enabled to achieve the goal of self-reliance.

On this occasion, I would like to urge upon my working class comrades to realise that the primary responsibility devolves on them to see that productivity and production are maintained at the highest possible tempo. There is no use of saying that the wages must be increased without any step in the direction of increased productivity. If the wages factor is not matched by a proportionate, or more than a proportionate increase in productivity and production, the very system will not be able to adjust itself to the growing demands of labour. There should be a proper linking up of wages, productivity and prices. Employers, for their part, must also create a climate for good indus-

trial relations by a proper appreciation of the role of labour which is a co-sharer in the fortunes of industry.

I once again congratulate the winners of the Awards. I also hope that more and more workers and organisations will actively participate in future in both the National Safety and Shram Vir National Award Schemes.

Science and Technology



Looking at some of the exhibits in the 'Electronics Exhibition—1973' which he inaugurated in New Delhi on December 5, 1973.

Presenting Prani Mitra award to Shrimati Mehra Dinshah Malegamvala in New Delhi on February 27, 1973.





Inaugurating an industrial housing colony at Faridabad on July 12, 1973.

Planting rose sappling at Shantivana in New Delhi on November 14, 1972 on the occasion of the eighty-third birth anniversary of the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.



We are Proud of Arvi

I AM VERY happy to be here today and participate in the first anniversary of the Arvi Satellite Earth Station. Arvi is indeed a tribute to the skill of the Indian engineers and scientists. It has given experience of great value to our experts in this sophisticated branch of technology. The fact that we undertook this colossal job and successfully completed it has produced a new wave of confidence among our engineers. It is an achievement about which our engineers can be rightly proud of. I think it is singularly appropriate to name it as Vikram Earth Station. The late Dr. Vikram Sarabhai was a man of rare vision. Space technology was dear to his heart and it is fitting that Arvi Station bears his illustrious name. His brilliant achievements in science and technology will for ever serve as a beacon to generations of Indians. I have great pleasure in dedicating the Vikram Earth Station to the Nation.

I have also great pleasure in releasing the special commemorative stamp brought out by the P & T Department on this occasion. It indeed serves as a formal acknowledgement by us of the value of the dedicated effort which has gone into the Satellite Communications Project.

We have to bring about a scientific transformation of our economy and social structure. The development of science, has special meaning for our country where incomes are meagre, unemployment high and illiteracy yet to be removed. Millions of people still suffer from inadequate housing and low living standards. Science and technology can provide an important means to tackle these problems. For example, the peaceful uses of *atomic* energy hold enormous opportunities for industrial progress of developing countries like India. Scientific knowledge could be good or bad depending upon how we use them. I would however like to reiterate the supreme importance of self-reliance. I have immense faith in the ability of our young scientists and technologists to meet the challenges before them. The working of the Satellite Communications Project fills me with hope about the future of science in India.

I have also great pleasure in releasing the Souvenir brought out on this occasion.

Speech at the first anniversary of the Arvi Satellite Earth Station, New Delhi, February 26, 1972.

Science to Aid Animal Husbandry

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY have contributed a great deal in recent years to bringing about a transformation in the production potential of our agriculture. The green revolution has made the country self-reliant in foodgrains. Unfortunately, however, there continues to be serious deficiency of animal proteins in the diet of our people resulting in mal-nutrition and disease. Protein-calorie mal-nutrition is a serious menace to development in the poor nations and it is appropriate that the U.N. General Assembly in a recent resolution has called upon developing nations to encourage the increased production of animal proteins. Steps have, therefore, to be taken by the research scientists to augment the production of animal proteins by way of milk, milk products, eggs, meat etc.

With its enormous livestock population, our country has a vast potential for meeting the growing needs of human population for food, clothing and bullock power for agricultural operations. The welfare of the community is to a large extent dependent on the activities of organised livestock work and their prosperity is largely dependent on the conditions and productivity of livestock. Research workers in the field of Animal Sciences have a vital role to play in this matter and I am sure the expertise and the facilities that have been developed at this and other institutes in the country would soon lead to development of better livestock to meet the needs of the nation.

It is true that the problem of livestock development in India is a colossal one due to the enormity of their numbers and further being complicated by the peculiar nature of environmental and socio-economic factors under which the livestock is being raised in the country. Among these various problems, disease has been one of the most important limiting factors, since it often takes a heavy toll of livestock, causing an utter waste of resources and of the hard work devoted to their breeding and feeding. Our foremost task, therefore, is to check and control animal diseases. The contribution that has been made by this Institute in evolving suitable preventive and control measures against most of the serious and important livestock diseases is commendable. However, as the research progresses, newer problems come to light and the research scientists, therefore, have to continue search for better and more efficient remedial measures.

Although it is true that the average milk production of our cows and buffaloes is generally very poor, there is no reason why it cannot

Speech on laying the foundation stone of the Modular Laboratory Building at the Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, March 19, 1972.

be increased by judicious herd development programme through progeny testing, use of selected proven bulls for breeding, artificial insemination and cross-breeding. By adopting scientific methods, it should not be difficult to increase the average milk production of our cows and buffaloes, to say 5 litres a day, per animal. This target can be reached. This will increase our production to meet the country's minimum total requirements of milk of 10 ozs per head per diem and will also reduce the cost of maintenance of the existing large number of cattle population. This is not a simple task but needs to be tackled in a concerted manner based on the experience gained in the past. We shall have to develop the right type of cattle in a much bigger way than we are doing at present. This will have to be done by the adoption of scientific breeding techniques and also proper training of farmers.

The setting up of the Modular Laboratory facilities will provide better inter-disciplinary co-operation. The animal husbandry technicians have to take the message of modern science and technology in the field of animal husbandry and veterinary science to the farmers. It is only by proper planning and implementation of suitable programme of action in both these fields that we can convert the potential of our cattle wealth into actual benefit to the community.

Scientist and Society

IT IS A great pleasure for me to participate in this evening's function. We are extremely grateful to Prof. Chomsky* for his thought-provoking lecture. The subject of this year's exposition, "Science and Ideology" was the one dear to the heart of that great man in whose memory this lecture is organised. One of the most distinctive and valuable contributions of Jawaharlal Nehru was his emphasis on science and technology for the elimination of poverty and for promoting essential cultural values such as reason, spirit of free enquiry, tolerance, experimentation and quest for truth.

Speech presiding over the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, November 13, 1972.

* Professor Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Prof. Chomsky has, in his illuminating lecture, raised quite a few fundamental questions of our time. Are technology and the behavioural sciences neutral? Has the scientist no responsibility for the social consequences of his action? Is the community's role to be one of passivity even when the consequences of certain scientific pursuits are going to prove disastrous to man's existence? Is it safe to leave decision-making entirely in the hands of the technical elite of the state capitalist or state socialist systems?

With copious illustrations, Prof. Chomsky has shown that technology and social sciences are not ethically neutral. He has shown that the guinea-pigs of research are almost always the under-privileged. What is more, research in industrial societies is becoming increasingly geared to the purposes of internal repression, domination of foreign countries and destruction in general. He has given a fine exposition of the technical intelligentsia's obedience to ruling groups. By defining every question of grave consequences as technical, the technical elite excludes the moral considerations and denies the public any say on the ground that technical questions are best left to technical experts. He has highlighted how, even the so-called "New Economics" does not go beyond the techniques of providing the wherewithal for the war on a gun-and-butter basis. The followers of this economics do not ask why it is that they have to turn to the production of wasteful armaments to stimulate the economy. The questions that he has posed are of such vital importance that the future of humanity itself may depend on the right answers to them.

Prof. Chomsky has shown why the scientist and technologist must be concerned about the foreseeable consequences of their work. The plea that the scientist must be free to follow his interest irrespective of wherever they may lead, is in fact an abject form of service to the ruling ideologies. However much the scientist or technologist may pretend that his work is neutral, he has little means to develop a technology against the interest of the power elite. Prof. Chomsky has highlighted the fact that all that goes in the name of science is not really science. He has pointed out that the pseudo-science is a pursuit for lending the appearance of substance to insubstantial and *a priori* conclusions.

Prof. Chomsky has given us his vision of a decent society which is unlike the state capitalist or the state socialist societies which are marked by centralised powers of decision-making and where the technical elite rule the roost. In the society of his vision, the socially necessary and unpleasant work would be divided on some egalitarian basis, and beyond that, people would have, as an inalienable right, the widest possible opportunity to do work that interest them. Science,

scholarship and arts would be motivated by intrinsic rewards. In today's world, those who are without greed and those who are not servile to authority are "social misfits". In the new world of his vision, the "social misfits" will be those who are unable to control a pathological need to dominate. In this society, the social fetters will be replaced by social bonds ushering in a new scientific civilisation in which man's animal nature will be transcended and his human nature will flourish.

It was over five decades ago that Mahatma Gandhi warned the world about the danger of science without humanity. He emphasised the need for a synthesis of science and spirituality. His call is more relevant today than at any time in the history of the world. Mankind is today facing the grim alternatives of annihilation or survival. The one thing that can save the world is the vision of the human race as one family living in a world which is indivisible.

Role of Technology in the Growth of Chemical Industry

FROM A VERY modest beginning, the Indian Institute of Chemical Engineers has grown very strong with a steady increase in membership, presently estimated around 2400. It is gratifying to see that this Institute now represents the entire chemical engineering profession in the country.

Chemical Engineering profession and chemical industry are both very important to the country. Our country occupies 10th place in the world with regard to chemical industry. During the last two decades the industry has made rapid strides. The average growth rate during the last 10 years has been of the order of 17 to 18 per cent per annum as compared to 7 to 8 per cent for other industries. The projected growth rate for this industry during the period 1975-80 is also expected to be of the order of 17 to 18 per cent per annum. Chemical industry in India ranks fourth among the top manufacturing industries after textiles, iron & steel, and engineering. The growth rate of chemical industry in our country compares very favourably with that in more advanced countries in the world like the USA, Japan

Speech while inaugurating the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Institute of Chemical Engineers, New Delhi, December 3, 1972.

and the USSR. Chemical industry in India is characterised by rapid growth, heavy investment, opportunities for large, medium and small scale industries and great need for technology.

Gratifying as the growth of the chemical industry has been in the country, much remains to be done with regard to its future growth in order to attain the necessary self-reliance. Although the chemical industry is large and manufactures a wide variety of products, still the bulk of the technology utilised in these factories is imported. The country has not taken adequate steps to absorb this technology into the system. This has resulted not only in the technology that is being imported being stagnant but also in our country resorting to repetitive import of technology. A concerted action is necessary among engineers, scientists, industry and the government to mount a worthwhile programme to indigenise the technology that is imported and to prevent repetitive import of technology into the country. I am not here, for one minute, suggesting that our country or for that matter any other country can be self-sufficient with regard to technology especially in the fields like chemical industry and chemical engineering. What I am suggesting is that we should build enough technical capabilities and should generate enough know-how in our country so that there will be a two way traffic in the transfer of technology, buying and selling.

We have to give constant attention to improve the standard of chemical engineering education in our universities and technical institutions. I am aware that our students in chemical engineering are well trained and compare well with those coming from any part of the world. We have to keep this up and improve upon it. We should train not only inventors but also innovators who can carry the torch for new ideas, work with ingenuity and adventurous spirit to bring about change through technology utilisation.

A consultant or a consultancy firm has a key role to play in technology transfer. During recent years the country has built up a reservoir of talent in the design engineering and consultation fields. However, much remains to be done. We should give greater and greater importance to this aspect which is very important for the establishment and growth of chemical industry in the country. It is here that a large number of chemical engineers could usefully be employed.

Chemical industry is characterised by equipment which has to be fabricated out of special materials due to corrosive reactions and special conditions under which chemical reactions take place. In this respect the country is not producing the types of materials of construction required for manufacturing all types of chemical equipment. Here the engineers and scientists will have to play a large role in

developing necessary know-how for manufacturing these materials of construction.

While developing our chemical industry we should not commit the same mistakes which have been committed in the more advanced countries of the world, and which they are now trying to solve. I refer here to the pollution problems that are a feature of most chemical industries. We should learn from their experience and even now take necessary precautions in the development of our processes, design of our factories and treatment of effluents so that our streams and air are not polluted and we continue to enjoy the blessings of nature in this respect. We should not create problems and then try to solve them. We should learn from the experience of others.

Often it is asked, how engineers could help solve the problems of the country. The members of your association have set an example in making valuable and substantial contribution to the development of many industries in the country, which go to raise the standard of living of our masses. By your work in the laboratories, educational institutions and industries and the Government, you are contributing to the development of self-reliance of the country. I am not unaware of the problems you often face in carrying out your work. But the job of your organisation is to continue the good work and improve upon its past performance in spite of any difficulties

End Technological Disparity

I AM HAPPY to be here this morning to inaugurate the International Seminar on Technology Transfer organised in co-operation with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation.

We have great pleasure in welcoming Dr. Abdel Rehman, Executive Director of UNIDO and other distinguished visitors from abroad. The role of United Nations agencies like UNIDO in studying and identifying the problems and difficulties in the process of technology transfer is commendable. The technology gap between the developed and the developing nations is increasing at an alarming rate. Every effort must be made to speed up the process of bridging the disparity. I hope this Seminar will make an outstanding contribution to the solution of this important problem.

Speech while inaugurating the International Seminar on Technology Transfer, New Delhi, December 11, 1972.

It has been estimated that the net rate of growth of industrialised countries is very much higher and the increase in per capita earning in a developed country in about a couple of years may be more than the total per capita earning of a developing country. The infrastructure facilities for development are inadequate in the developing countries. There is shortage of capital and appropriate skilled personnel. This situation of scarcity can be met by the application of science and technology to the production system.

The state of technological advancement of a country reflects the state of development of its industry and economy. This apart from other facts may be a compelling reason for developing countries to urgently mobilise all possible resources to raise their technological level. This is likely to alleviate poverty and apart from increasing the output is likely to improve the living standards of society at large. As a matter of fact, a revolution is to be brought about in the field of technology development and technology transfer in the developing countries. Technology transfer connotes the transplantation or transference of a whole mass of knowledge and experience relating to a product or process. Such a transfer contributes to several aspects; significant of them are exploitation of available resources and productivity improvement. An example of the former could be productive use of agricultural land previously considered barren or discovering economic use for raw material thought useless. The enhancement of productivity could be through better skill management methods of equipment and machinery.

Till some time ago the concept of technology transfer was primarily a mass of machines, tools and industrial installation. Today it consists increasingly of the software of organisation and systematisation of doing things incorporating ways and means of assimilating the technology with the environment of the country of transfer. This does not signify that the machines and tools are less important but merely that research and development management and education are made important in this field than ever before.

The help and co-operation of industrially advanced countries to facilitate transfer in specific areas is important. There are advantages in importing technology but this should not bypass the needs, suitability and the development of absorptive capacities in the developing countries. They should strive for vertical transfer of technology wherein local research and developmental efforts play a significant role. The technology thus transferred need be diffused in potentially relevant areas. In most of the cases the transfer of technology in the developing countries is through indirect mechanism. The technology is imported as a package which makes the local enterprise dependent upon the foreign enterprise for every input leaving very

little scope for indigenous potential to participate in the process. The terms of transfer often impose undue strain on balance of payment. There are restrictions in exporting the products from the produce of the technology transferred. There is considerable expatriation of profits from the developing countries. The technology invented in developed countries is essentially big capital intensive and low labour employing. Its import as such may not be suited to the requirements of the developing countries. Finally, the transfer in such cases overlooks the size of technology required, nature and kind of resources available and the prevailing socio-economic conditions. The developing countries should find some alternative to this precarious situation. Direct mechanism wherein exchange of information, education and training, movement of skilled personnel and technical co-operation in choosing appropriate technology are involved, should be preferred. This would help maintain the political and economic independence of developing countries.

The most desirable objective before the developing countries would be to achieve self-reliance in strategic and basic economic areas compatible with the local resources, skill and capabilities so as to operate with some effectiveness at the national and international level. The transfer of technology if it is to be for social good should ensure that it is the most appropriate one and is modified to suit the social and economic environment. The flow of technology from the industrially advanced countries to the less developed must be restricted drastically to the needs of strategic areas and to the efficient use of agriculture-based resources.

These conditions are most relevant to India which is basically an agricultural country. The contribution of her agricultural sector is around fifty per cent to the gross domestic product. Eighty per cent of her population resides in villages. Therefore, with the objective of creating more employment opportunities and means of utilising agricultural resources efficiently, effective means and ways should be discovered to transfer technology in this sector. This would in the long run form the basis of our overall development in other economic sectors.

The conditions prevailing in most of the developing countries in a region are more or less similar. The cultural and economic disparities are also not much among them. Their objectives and requirements are nearly the same. They should explore the common grounds for co-operation and draw programmes for the same. Time has come when an era of co-operation among the developing countries based on complementarity and give-and-take policy should usher in technical progress and universal well-being. The developing countries who

have achieved cognisable expertise and sophistication in specific technologies should exchange their experience and know-how with others for mutual advantages. The possible areas of co-operation are exchange of data, training of personnel, consultation and exchange of managerial skills to help supervise the transfer process.

The technology banks are a desirable innovation for the developing countries on regional basis to solve the problems of technological disparities of their respective regions. Unlike the industrially advanced countries, scientific and industrial research is mainly supported by the Government of the developing countries. This is a new enterprise. The underlying policy is to create indigenous research and development capabilities to identify, undertake and solve technological problems. The development of local research and development potential has the obvious advantage of suitably transferring the know-how developed in relevant areas in tune with the availability of the local resources and expertise. Linking the scientific research of the Government laboratories to industries in the private and public sectors is a new experience. This experience is not available in most of the advanced countries since the industries there are located in the private sector with their own research and development establishments. Exchange of experience in this area between developing countries would be quite fruitful.

One of the most significant factors in effecting technology transfer based on local development is the inter-action between scientific and political communities. The politicians must explicitly identify the socio-economic objectives and the scientists should be apprised of them promptly and in clear terms. Mechanism should be found out to transfer these objectives into technological tasks so as to seek solutions through the tools provided by science and technology.

It has been emphasised time and again by my Government that India is attempting to bridge in a matter of decades the gap created by a century and more of stagnation. The implementation of this calls for a chain reaction with a big leap forward in all activities related to technology transfer, namely, basic invention, innovation engineering and designing, manufacturing, marketing and after-sales service with efficient feedbacks.

Science and Technology Speed up Progress

IT IS A great pleasure for me to participate in the 85th Annual Day Celebrations of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.

Developing countries like India are attempting to bridge, in a matter of decades, the gap created by a century or more of stagnation. This is a tremendous task and we are seeking to fulfil this task within the democratic framework. The technology gap between the developed and the developing nations is increasing at an alarming rate. Every effort must be made to speed up the process of bridging this disability. It has been estimated that the net rate of growth of industrialised countries is very much higher and increase in per capita earning in a developed country in about a couple of years may be more than the total per capita earning of a developing country.

We are now laying a strong industrial base for all-round development. We are setting up giant industrial enterprises like steel plants, machine building plants, oil refineries, petro-chemical units, fertilizer plants and a host of other manufacturing units. To support the industrial base, we are expanding the infra-structure like transport, communications, electric power, etc., as well as reorganising our financial institutions. All this depends upon the application of modern technological know-how, sophisticated plants and a big labour force, including scientists, engineers and skilled workers trained and equipped with professional competence. If we have to harness science and technology to productive processes, we must develop special talents and first train our people to apply those techniques effectively on a broad front. The availability of people with necessary skills determines the pace and direction of economic growth in all developing countries.

It is to realise these objectives that we have expanded technical education in India in a big way in the last fifteen years. Over five hundred thousand engineers and technicians are now employed in industry and other sectors of our economic life. There is no doubt that if it were not for this expansion of technical education, our first three Five-Year Plans would have failed for lack of adequate technical man-power and we would not have had the strength and confidence to deal with the present and future problems of national reconstruction. Though we still have a long way to go in the development of our

Speech inaugurating the 85th anniversary celebrations of Victoria Jubilee Institute, Bombay, February 2, 1973.

national economy, we have created a first-rate infra-structure of trained man-power to ensure the success of our future enterprises. It is for our industrialists and national agencies to utilise this man-power to the best advantage.

It is unfortunate that our economy suffered a serious setback for three years during 1966-69 owing to recession in industry and postponement of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The industry is now picking up and we are on the threshold of a big advance. The present sanctioned capacity of 25,000 admissions to the degree courses in Engineering and about 50,000 admissions to the diploma courses per annum is considered adequate to meet the man-power requirements for the Fifth Plan. The stage has now come when the main emphasis in technical education should be on consolidation and improvement of quality and standards. I am happy that the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute has switched over its diploma training to a 'Sandwich' pattern of education with semester system of examinations. The degree examinations here are also conducted on the semester system. The practical content of degree and diploma courses must be improved if the technical education is to be relevant to our economic development. We must give a new orientation to our engineering education so that new graduates will have the skills, incentives and facilities to set up small manufacturing or consultancy or service units of their own either on an individual or co-operative basis. This means we have to reorient our courses and survey industrial potential. Participation of industry in improving engineering education is also vital.

I would also plead for co-ordination of the work of our institutions devoted to engineering education and the scientific complex consisting of national research laboratories, defence research laboratories and other research organisations. We must establish a coherent relationship between these two complexes so that they can complement each other in the process of industrial development of our country. It is of utmost importance that we develop problem-solving, project-oriented ways of thought and action.

The new strategy visualised in the Fifth Five-Year Plan of providing minimum standards of living for the vast majority of our people and technological self-reliance cannot be fulfilled without effective participation of technical institutions. I am sure institutions like the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute will play a worthy role in building a new India.

Research in Indian Medicine

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be here this morning and meet a galaxy of scientists academicians and research scholars. I had occasion to watch the progress made by the Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine and Homoeopathy through the various reports and documents released by them. I am happy to note that the Council, during this short period, had undertaken a number of research projects in Indian systems of medicine, Homoeopathy and Yoga-Different aspects like drug-research, clinical research, research in history of medicine and literary research have been taken up and some of the projects appear to provide interesting leads and valuable data. The entire work appears to have been taken up with a spirit of zeal and enthusiasm which is vital for scientific pursuit. In this, endeavour, prejudice, fanaticism, preconceived and fixed ideas have no place. Research is nothing but rational investigation out of which information of great value and importance will emerge.

In each age, research that is undertaken has to take into account the problems that currently face them. Immediate solution as well as long range benefits must form the basis in the study of any problem. It is here that the scientific worker has to bring to the forefront his creative talent. Every individual has the spark of creative element in him which has to be harnessed for the common good of all.

No system of medicine is an island, entirely by itself; it has necessarily to draw concepts and techniques from all contemporary systems of medicine and other disciplines. The barrier between one system of medicine and the other has to disappear in this great endeavour in the pursuit of truth. When health is considered an international problem, cure of disease is also an international problem. Science and technology have brought the races, culture and civilisation together and the results of research in these systems of medicine carried on in this country will not only benefit us alone but also be of great use all over the world. It has to be admitted that the Indian systems of medicine which have survived from time immemorial and have stood the test of time could not have done so without having some intrinsic merits of their own. These systems of medicine had a temporary set-back for reasons known to all of us and it is now up to our researchers to develop it further with the aid of

Speech inaugurating the First Scientific Seminar of Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine and Homoeopathy, New Delhi, February 10, 1973.

modern technology. The last word on any science, or system of medicine or knowledge could not have been said many centuries ago; nor can we say so today. It is always growing.

I consider that this Seminar has particularly great significance today than any time before, due to the pattern and pace of development which has created a number of problems, in the medical world particularly with reference to the efficacy and safety of new drugs. Text books can hardly keep abreast of current progress in the field of medicine and other contemporary disciplines. A number of drugs which are widely practised in modern medicine owe their established position to knowledge originating in various systems of medicine in this country. I find that the papers to be presented at this Seminar cover various functional facets like survey, standardisation of drugs, clinical research, history of medicine, etc. The session on Yoga, I understand, will highlight the scope of utilising Yoga in the treatment of several diseases. Yoga plays a vital role in psychosomatic diseases. The research in the therapeutic aspects of Yoga are certain to have a say in the national health as well as in the international field today more than any time before in view of the present stress and strain of life.

In my conception of medical relief, our people should have the choice to undergo treatment in whatever system they like. In Kerala, for example, every district and taluk headquarters has a well-equipped Ayurvedic Hospital run by qualified practitioners. What is needed is that we must have qualified people to treat people. I am sure the example of great men like Hakim Ajmal Khan, who worked in this historic city of Delhi, will continue to inspire the practitioners of the indigenous system of medicine to pioneer into new fields.

Past in Perspective

HISTORY OF MEDICAL Sciences is of great interest and also of practical value as it acts as a guide to the future. The phenomenal progress that medicine has made during the past 50 years, is very well known. The efforts of the ancients in the cure of illnesses over the many centuries were based upon keen observations and

Speech inaugurating the Silver Jubilee of the History of Medicine Society, Madras, February 16, 1973.

inference. India herself has played a great role in the advancement of medicine over the centuries, lending its scientific ideas to Greece before the Christian era and to the Middle East in the later years. The free exchanges of ideas between India and Greece and later between India and Arabia influenced the progress of medicine in the world for many centuries.

References to the practice of medicine are found even in the *Rig Veda*, dating back to 3,000 years before Christ. A study of this fascinating chapter of human endeavour is the aim of the history of Medicine Society of India. It is essential for trainees in medicine in modern India to have a clear idea of the history of medical progress in our country. A better understanding of Indian medicine will serve to remove the unjustified prejudice that may exist in the minds of many modern medical men about the concepts and medicaments of our indigenous systems of medicine. It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be associated with the opening of this Museum of History of Medicine associated with the name of my esteemed friend, the late Dr. Lakshmipathi. An eminently qualified doctor of modern medicine, he became a great exponent of Ayurveda. His love and devotion to this system of Indian medicine was responsible for his munificent gift for establishing this Museum. I greatly admire his vision.

The Association of Surgeons of India had its origin at Madras 30 years ago and since then has been devoting itself to the cause of surgery and of service to mankind all over the country. It serves to promote friendship and a spirit of completion and research amongst the surgical fraternity. After great effort this headquarters building has now been built due to the sustained efforts of that great doyen of medical profession in our country, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar. But for his indefatigable energy and enthusiasm and the munificent gifts by various well-wishers and surgeons, this building would not have come into existence. Since then in addition to being the headquarters for the surgeons it has also served the cause of medical education by being the headquarters of the Association for the Advancement of Medical Education. It is but appropriate that a museum for the History of medicine should be established in this institution of learning.

An Institution of Growth

IN SOME PARTS of the world, professional institutions have developed in specialised fields, but many of them are now finding a need for coordinating their efforts which has resulted in federations like the Council of Engineering Institutions in the United Kingdom. Such coordination becomes all the more necessary since, as we all know, progress of any society today depends on the technological support it gets, and the technological strength, in turn, depends effectively on the various disciplines in the various facets of our activities tied up for a common purpose. Undoubtedly, there are advantages in specialisation and professional development but, in today's world progress in any single direction is of little consequence unless it is tied up with inter-disciplinary coordination and cross-fertilisation. It is the lack of this approach which quite often comes in the way of rapid and meaningful progress. I am glad your institution has had the good fortune of maintaining such a multi-disciplinary approach ever since its inception.

I am also happy to note that the Institution is not confining its activities to India alone but, along with engineers in other parts of the world, it has formed the Commonwealth Engineering Conference and also a World Federation of Engineering Organisations. Being a firm believer in a world of fraternity, I welcome interaction amongst engineers in the various countries of the world on the basis of professional equality free from political, ideological, social or economic pressures.

Today the world has changed its character. It is now dominated by science and technology and, therefore, scientists and engineers have to play a bigger role and bear a greater burden in removing the sufferings of humanity than at any time in the world's history. True, that the nation's life is intricately woven in a fabric comprising men of all professions and pursuits but the priority of this age is an overdue emphasis, a right emphasis too, on the application of science and technology for human welfare. Technologists and engineers hold the key responsibility for the good of man. I am keenly interested in the technological development as it is basic tool for national progress.

I am most happy that our Government has now a separate department of Science and Technology to provide the required impetus

Speech inaugurating the 53rd Annual Convention of the Institution of Engineers (India), Madras, February 17, 1973.

for using this potent tool for our country's social and economic progress. I was also most happy to learn that, by the initiative of some of our young and enlightened engineers, the Institution of Engineers (India) has already taken a lead in setting up a special Committee for Advancement of Technology and Engineering. I attach great significance to the work in this direction, as it will not only knit together the technological and engineering work that the Institution has already been pursuing but would also, on the one hand, catalyse further activities from a total national viewpoint and on the other, coordinate them towards meaningful progress in terms of our national approach.

Our efforts are directed towards eradicating poverty and raising the standard of living of our people pursuing the most appropriate social pattern; this can be achieved only by translating the available knowledge into practical plans and by applying the technological and engineering skills and competence to produce practical results so that they have a wider acceptance with special emphasis to the larger section of our population.

I am glad that the Institution of Engineers (India) has included in its activities agricultural engineering and I would like to urge you to devote your closer attention to the question of developing agro-industries on a mass scale. Whenever I get an opportunity, I stress the need for our educated young men taking to small industries in a big way. I would like our engineering graduates to band themselves together and start co-operative ventures. Only by a massive development of agro-industries that we can solve the problem of poverty and unemployment in our country.

Whilst industrialisation is the key to modernisation, we also have to guard against the resultant factors such as technological and social imbalances which might create ecological disturbances and pollution of environment and the most important of all, discarding of our moral and cultural heritage. Gandhiji has shown that moral and cultural heritage can come to our aid in our march towards progress and prosperity. Gandhiji was not against industrialisation nor mechanisation but he said these should not be at the cost of losing our human dignity or moral values. He wanted above all that scientific and technological knowledge and achievements should serve the humanity and not dominate it.

We have to make the best use of our natural and human resources in improving yield from our land so that none will go hungry. We have to find resources and provide minimum housing within the next few years so that none of our brethren goes without a shelter. We have to look at clothing not from the point of view

of the affluent needs but, to ensure that the millions of our brethren have enough to cover themselves with. Since Independence we have taken a great stride and made a remarkable progress but we have still a long way to go and we cannot become complacent. The large size of our country and our large population require us to think in a big way.

We have many major projects in our view and I would like particularly to mention here the major water grid which has been received with acclaim. The grand idea of connecting the Ganga with the Cauvery has fascinated our engineers, administrators and thinkers. Once these projects materialise, we would have done away with the vagaries of the monsoon and many parts of the country would have been assured of irrigation. This would increase our agricultural production tremendously; we would also add to the transport capacity by inland navigation.

There are several other important activities in which we are engaged: the development and expansion of the steel industry, the development and expansion of the cement industry, fertiliser and various other chemical industries, oil industry, pollution control and public health and transportation whether it be by air, rail, road or sea. In all these, engineers have a great role to play.

Our engineers are second to none in the world. We have many examples of our young engineers both within the country and abroad having made notable contributions. I can particularly refer to the fact that at the beginning of this century we pioneered in organising river waters to produce electricity. The late Dr. M. Visvesvaraya was a great engineer and statesman. I need hardly refer to the valuable contributions made by eminent engineers and statesmen like my good friends Dr. A. N. Khosla and Dr. K. L. Rao in recent years. I am confident that our competent engineers given their due share in the responsibility of management and administration will prove eminently successful.

Environment and Health

I AM GLAD to have this opportunity to associate myself with the establishment of an organisation which has as its main objective, the dissemination of knowledge about such widely prevalent diseases

Speech on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Asthma and Bronchitis Foundation of India, New Delhi, March 1, 1973.

like asthma and bronchitis, their treatment, and promotion of research in these fields.

Nearly two per cent of the population in the world suffer from asthma. It is interesting to know that there is very little geographical variation in its prevalence. It is found in every country and in every clime. And yet, these diseases have not received the attention they deserve as community health problems. One of the reasons for the lack of interest in the disease is, that asthma, in itself, is seldom a killer. Besides, certain erroneous notions prevail in the minds of the lay public even today. For instance, asthma is even considered as contributory to longevity and that it is in any case an incurable disease.

The public health importance of a disease is to be assessed not merely by the number of people killed, but by the enormous number whose lives are made miserable and not worth living. The consequent sickness absenteeism among office workers and industrial employees, creates problems for the sociologists and the economists.

In spite of the phenomenal advances made in medical sciences, we understand very little about asthma even today. Every other person in the street claims to have a cure for asthma. That only shows that the physician has yet to find a cure for this distressing malady. Nonetheless, the doctors do have some potent drugs for alleviation of symptoms. Let us hope that through the sustained efforts of the Asthma and Bronchitis Foundation of India, the mystery of asthma will be unravelled.

The term bronchitis is familiar to the laymen, as asthma is. I understand that its prevalence, particularly in Northern India is high and involvement of the heart as a complication is also common. Chronic bronchitis is a disease of environment. Environmental pollutants like automobile exhaust, and smoke emitted from chimneys of factories are said to be contributory factors in the development of chronic bronchitis. Whether the dusty atmosphere prevailing in Northern India is a causative factor is a matter to be investigated.

Inhalation of polluted air can no doubt produce irritation of the air passage. There are, however, many problems pertaining to chronic bronchitis which are still unsolved. We do not know why only some develop the disease, while others do not, even when all are exposed to the same form of atmospheric pollution and other harmful environmental factors, as in coal mines for example.

I understand that just like asthma, chronic bronchitis also cannot be completely cured. Being however a disease of environment, the removal of the contributing environmental factors will go a long way in its prevention. Both in respect of asthma and chronic bronchitis,

valuable advice can be given by physicians in regard to prevention, treatment of symptoms and rehabilitation. The Asthma and Bronchitis Foundation of India has been established for the purpose of undertaking such extremely valuable tasks. Research in these fields, which is very much neglected, is to be promoted by the Foundation.

Farming Information

I AM HAPPY to be here when all of you who are concerned with agricultural education in our country have met together to exchange experiences and to strike new paths in making education meet the needs of our changing agriculture. I congratulate you on holding your convention in this beautiful campus which is a shining symbol of the new prestige and dynamism which our agriculture has acquired. There is public debate these days on the pitfall of our educational system and there is a general desire that education, research and productivity must be linked together in a manner that education becomes a catalyst of rapid economic and social change. The fruits of the work done by our Agricultural Universities and Research Institutes have made it clear that at least in agriculture close relationships have been established among research, education and extension. You should now strive to further strengthen these bonds.

Since the time the first Agricultural University was established at Pantnagar in 1960 we have rapidly added many more. There are 19 such Universities now in various stages of development. The State of Maharashtra alone has established as many as four Agricultural Universities. This is a clear index of the importance our State Governments and people attach to the Agricultural University concept. However, when institutions multiply rapidly, concepts get diluted and operational problems tend to consume most of the time of those who should be busy doing research and teaching. I know that in some States the responsibility for agricultural research has not yet been transferred to the Agricultural University. While in others the Agricultural University is indeed a mixed one with arts and social sciences combined with agricultural sciences. I am not one who would suggest rigidity of approach in the development of any institution. In fact, flexibility and the ability to make rapid

Speech inaugurating the fourth annual Convocation of the Association of the Indian Agricultural Universities, Hissar, March 21, 1973.

adjustments to changing conditions are absolutely essential to prevent any institution from becoming crusty. However there should be no compromise on the basic purpose of an Agricultural University. This kind of educational institution is intended primarily to train students who can initiate desirable changes in our agrarian economy and to carry out research on problems of relevance to the farmers through a properly established feed-back mechanism with extension agencies. I would, therefore, suggest that you should avoid any dilution of the basic concept and aims of an Agricultural University.

I am mentioning the need to resist temptations to compromise on basic concepts and aims because I have been watching with some sorrow the growing unrest even in the campuses of Agricultural Universities. In our regular Universities we have unrest owing to a variety of problems, most of which ultimately relate to the fear of the students about their future. We have not given adequate attention to meeting the needs of the new class of University students who belong to the category of "first-generation learners". The students are not sure whether what they are learning is going to earn them a job and a decent living along with job satisfaction. They find that the lectures in the class-room and the demands of life outside are often quite unrelated. It is, therefore, natural that all our eminent educationists should now seriously concern themselves with the task of developing an educational system which can help to equip the students to face and conquer the socio-economic problems of today.

The Haryana Agricultural University has been advocating a scheme for the settlement of agricultural graduates in villages by allotting them a portion of the land which may become available to the State following the enforcement of Land Ceiling Laws. You should also help small farmers by trying to promote the development of agencies which can provide costly inputs on hire or purchase. I know it is not your job to engage yourselves in actual agricultural development. Your duty is to develop new technologies which are economically sound and practically feasible and it is the duty of the State Departments of Agriculture to transfer this technology to the field. However, your role as producers of the technical personnel who will be employed in developmental work makes it imperative that you operate a few model institutions such as an Agricultural Polytechnic for the illiterate peasantry, particularly the small and marginal farmers, as well as a custom service unit for them and a model land colonisation project, to demonstrate the economic viability of small farms and to link agriculture with the growth of agro-industries. If your students are made to run such institutions as an integral part of their educational training, they will acquire the requi-

site degree of confidence and real experience to enable them to fulfil the tasks that are expected of them later.

One of our most urgent tasks is the development of technologies for all kinds of farms and situations. You have made considerable contributions to the development of improved technologies for the irrigated areas. Optimum and economic use of water is a science we have yet to learn well through trial and error and a great deal of scientific observation. That holds the key to much of our plan investors in agriculture. You should now concern yourselves more and more with the development of techniques which can help to get more crop per every drop of water and to develop high yielding varieties of pulses, oilseeds and industrial crops. In the field of education, you should strive to impart technical literacy to the illiterate. Sometime ago, Dr. Swaminathan did much advocacy for what he called "techniracy". Unfortunately the idea has yet to catch on. Probably at no time in history have technically educated persons had so great an opportunity to do good to their illiterate brothers and sisters as we have in India. There is scope for continuous experiments in this field with the mass media that are now at your disposal. Let me hope you will wholeheartedly avail of this opportunity and thereby earn the gratitude and goodwill of millions.

Agricultural Research

OUR VILLAGES HAVE suffered too long as a result of the widely held belief that agriculture is a profession which requires only brawn and no brain. It is only during the 1960s that we saw a new movement in the country bringing together farmers, scientists, extension workers, administrators and political leaders, all orchestrated together in improving the productivity of our hungry and thirsty soils. The agricultural university concept was born out of a desire to relate more closely education to the needs of the agro-ecological and socio-economic environment.

The Punjab Agricultural University of which Hissar was a campus for several years, was the second Agricultural University to be estab-

Speech inaugurating the Haryana Agricultural University, Hissar, March 21, 1973

lished in our country. I am glad that the Hissar campus of the Punjab Agricultural University has now developed into a fine and full-fledged university and I must congratulate the Government and people of Haryana for their vision and initiative in developing an excellent infrastructure, through beautiful and well designed laboratories and experimental fields, for fostering research and education suited to the needs of the people.

While infrastructure like laboratories, land and residences are vital for a university to give its best, it is obvious that the ultimate contribution of the university will depend upon the sense of dedication and direction of its staff and students. In the field, it is the man behind the plough who largely determines the yield of his crops. Similarly, in an university it is the teacher and the student who will determine whether the university is going to fulfil the expectation reposed in it by the Government and the people.

We must constantly remember that ours is one of the poorest countries in the world and that centres of higher learning are being supported and maintained at great cost to the tax-payer. Therefore, it is a solemn obligation on the part of every one of you, who is privileged either to teach or to study in this university, to do your best to develop knowledge which can help to convert the natural wealth of this State into jobs, income and food.

Haryana is a State where there are extensive areas which are rainfed and in such unirrigated areas crop growth is linked to rainfall pattern. There are lands in this State ranging from the most fertile at one end to near desert at the other with large tracts of drought-prone, saline and water-logged soils in between. There is therefore a great opportunity in this State to work on a wide range of problems—intensive cropping systems for the irrigated areas and techniques which can help to raise crop production in the rainfed areas.

You should develop for each crop soil block of this State an integrated land and water use plan, involving an appropriate combination of crops, animal husbandry, fishery and forestry. I am sure the Haryana Government under the able and dynamic leadership of its Chief Minister will forge ahead. The solid achievements of this State fills me with hope about the future.

I am glad that this Agricultural University has developed excellent schools of basic sciences and home science. What we need today is a new design for rural living where the advances in farming technology are harmonised with advances in the day to day life of the farmer and his family. We now see in the countryside in Haryana and Panjab a large number of tractors, tube-wells, fertiliser and seed depots, banks and other symbols of the modernisation of agriculture. Along

with these, we also find open drains, filthy roads, poorly designed houses infested with flies and mosquitoes and poor living conditions. I appeal to you to end this dichotomy in the extent of progress achieved in farming on the one hand and living, on the other. We need a new design of semi-arid and rural architecture which helps to conserve every drop of water for human, animal and plant use which promotes recycling of all wastes including human wastes.

Ocean Research

I AM VERY happy to be here today and participate in the function for laying the corner-stone of the National Institute of Oceanography.

The integrated ocean research was initiated by the Council of Scientific & Industrial Research in May 1962 and the first phase of this great endeavour is now complete. The Indian participation in the International Indian Ocean Expedition, which was fostered by the Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, was completed with the close of the Expedition in 1965 and the Government of India took the important decision to continue our activities by consolidating our effort during the expedition by establishing a national laboratory. It was decided that this important Institution should be located at this beautiful city of Panaji which offered many natural advantages as a suitable base for ocean research.

We in this country are apt to look upon edifices and buildings as something of great significance but let me emphasise that what is of real consequence is the effort put in this direction by our scientists. I attach much greater importance to human material than to buildings. Without men of ability, foresight and perseverance, even the best of equipment and buildings cannot bring us results. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that much scientific work has preceded the putting up of the buildings. We have heard from the Director that the Institute has already very important programmes in progress at Goa, Cochin and Bombay, making use of hired buildings and improvised facilities, men and their work taking precedence over buildings. This is a sequence of events which I strongly commend in the establishment of new Institutes.

In the context of modern developments the ocean is widely recog-

Speech while laying the corner-stone of the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, April 7, 1973.

nised as a treasure-house of enormous amounts of the raw material both living and non-living. An overpopulated country like ours with insufficient supply of animal proteins and inadequate supply of many minerals on land has perforce to look to the oceans. In the field of marine living resources, we were fortunate to start scientific work much earlier almost soon after independence. I recall with pleasure my visit to Mandapam to see the early efforts put in this direction by the present Director of this Institute and his colleagues with the meagre facilities then available at that small township in South India. Since then the pioneering efforts made in those days have blossomed into larger organisations dealing with marine fisheries research. Marine resources have now found a high place in our national economy both as a means of high quality food supply and earner of valuable foreign exchange. I realise that the expansion of fisheries on which the Central and State Governments and many fishery scientists in the country are working at present, will also widen the scope of employment opportunities for our people.

In contrast to this, the mineral resources have hardly been touched upon except with reference to the atomic mineral sands of the Kerala coast. The Indian continental shelf, extending to several hundred thousand square kilometres bordering our coasts, could legitimately be expected to contain minerals of high value and petroleum resources. We have already made a beginning in the Gulf of Cambay.

I know that many of our brilliant scientists are associated with the work of this Institute and I foresee that this will attract several young scientists whose intellect and abilities would be harnessed in the service of the nation for the exploration and exploitation of the resources from the oceans. Oceanic properties like currents, physical characteristics and many other factors are known to have important bearing on weather, navigation, coastal erosion and sedimentation and a number of other problems. The Institute has much ground to cover before it can produce results of immediate practical application but I know a good beginning has been made. I wish this Institute all success in its endeavour to fulfill its part in the development of our national resources and economy.

Our Water Resources

WE ARE GATHERED here today to begin a very important programme for the economic prosperity of Goa. The vital importance of irrigation to our country needs no reiteration. On account of the vagaries of the monsoon, irrigation is a pre-requisite to successful cultivation. It is only by irrigation that we can make our agricultural production stable and augment it. Our forefathers recognised the need for this and all over the country we can see the works they built for us like tanks, anicuts, wells etc. We started taking up some major projects in the middle of the 19th century, but there was no sustained effort. It was only when we became independent that sufficient importance was attached to irrigation and a systematic programme was launched. Since then we have about doubled the area under irrigation.

Yet, only a fourth of our lands is now served by irrigation. The drought which affected large areas this year and caused so much misery and distress to millions of our countrymen is yet another grim reminder that we cannot afford to slacken our irrigation programme. We are hardly using about 16 per cent of our water resources today. Even with the conventional projects, it should be possible for us to use at least 50 per cent of our water resources and irrigate half of our lands. By inter-linking our rivers and using surplus waters, we will be able to irrigate two thirds of our lands. Thus, much larger programmes of irrigation are needed in our country and we should put all efforts to see that the maximum irrigation in the country whether from big dams, tanks, tubewells or wells is provided in the next ten to fifteen years. It is only then that our farmers will have the basic prerequisite to increase manifold their production by using the vital input of water along with ancillary inputs like fertilisers, good seeds, pesticides etc. There is no other way to meet the needs of our growing population and to give our people minimum living standards.

The Union Territory of Goa is lagging behind the rest of the country in the development of irrigation facilities. The present percentage of irrigation is hardly 6 per cent against the national average of about 25 per cent which itself is low for our requirements. I am very glad that the Goa Administration has realised the importance of irrigation and has undertaken a programme of investigations to

Speech at the inauguration of the construction of the Salauli Project, Goa, April 6, 1973.

pinpoint potential projects, survey them and prepare them for implementation. The Salauli project is the first major irrigation project in the Union Territory and I am sure this will be a fore-runner of many more such projects. The importance of this project to the economy of Goa and to the economy of the Nation can well be imagined if we realise that this single project alone will provide irrigation to about 20,800 hectares of land, nearly two and a half times the present total area under irrigation in the territory.

The work of the engineers in translating the blueprints of the project into masonry and concrete and brick work alone will not be enough. A great task awaits the Goa Administration in educating the farmers to use the water which will be made available to the best advantage and produce the maximum out of every inch of land and provide them all necessary facilities for this purpose.

To my mind, nothing can signify more the value of liberation from colonial rule and freedom than the fact that we are today embarking upon tapping one of the most precious natural resources of Goa, namely water flowing in the river. Generations to come will thank us for having implemented this scheme.

Care for the Eyes

IT HAS ALWAYS been a matter of immense pleasure for me to visit the Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital and the steady progress it is making. This well-known institution has made a name for itself as a centre of national importance. There could be no better memorial to Shrimati Sarojini Naidu than this hospital in this beautiful metropolitan city whose cosmopolitan culture she loved so much.

It was four years ago that I had the privilege of laying the foundation-stone for the children's ward of this Hospital and thanks to the energetic efforts of all concerned, it has today become a reality. Children do require special care and expert attention. Early treatment in childhood can prevent eye diseases from assuming serious proportions and resulting in partial or total blindness later. I firmly believe that if ever we are to have a privileged group

Speech inaugurating the newly constructed building of the children's ward of the Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital and Institute of Ophthalmology, Hyderabad, September 2, 1973

in our society it must be children, for they are the future citizens of the country.

It is an unfortunate fact that 60 per cent of the total blindness seen in children within ten years of age is due to preventable causes. Nutritional deficiency is one of the important causes of blindness among children and this can be easily prevented by taking a proper and balanced diet. It is criminal folly to allow children to become blind for lack of proper food. We must find enough resources to prevent this calamity. I am sure our doctors, scientists and social welfare organisations would rise to the occasion and meet this challenge.

I am glad that the Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital has come forward with a pioneering idea of a Children's Ward for devoting full attention on eye diseases peculiar to children. I hope and pray that it will soon blossom into a National Paediatric Ophthalmic Unit not only to treat eye diseases peculiar to children but also do research in the preventive aspects of blindness. The work you will do here will be of vital significance to the future of our nation. If you rescue a child from the curse of blindness you are indeed doing a great national service. You not only save a person from a life-time of misery but add a healthy individual on the threshold of his life to the labour force.

One of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in our Constitution lays down that "State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and of the standard of its people and improvement of public health as among its primary duties". We have no doubt made a good deal of progress in medical treatment and public health, but what we have done pales into insignificance if we consider what remains to be done. Raising the level of nutrition is basic for improvement of standards of living, and we have yet to progress a great deal in this respect. I would ask the nutrition experts to evolve, for children of different age groups, a standard ~~nutritious~~ diet which would be within the reach of the poorest among our people. The State should, if necessary, subsidise this, and schools and hospitals can become the distribution centres. Investment in improving the health of children is investment in building up the nation's strength. It has been stated that enjoyment of the highest attainable standards of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being.

Among the many handicaps that afflict the people, loss of one's eye-sight is the most serious and pathetic. It is, therefore, our primary responsibility to see how best we could reduce the incidence of blindness among the people. It is a pity that many people still lose their sight because of superstitious practices and false sentiments.

Quackery which thrives on the gullibility of the general public has also to be eradicated. We must provide qualified doctors in an adequate number and launch effective propaganda drive among the people on the dangers of superstitious practices which often lead to serious complications. We must also educate our people on how to care for their eyes. Thanks to the advance made by science we are able to bring about effective cure in many cases of eye diseases, but we have to make considerable leeway.

Apart from the preventive aspect, the rehabilitation of the blind should equally receive our attention. I have myself seen a number of talented and educated young men and women, who are blind waiting for an opportunity for leading a fuller life. Often, we find that after training in some field or the other or after making themselves academically qualified many of them are denied opportunities for employment solely on the ground that they are handicapped. This is indeed tragic. The handicapped people have proved that they are better workers because of their keen sense of duty and better discipline. If society denies them their legitimate opportunities they become dejected and frustrated. Whenever I get an opportunity, I have been urging that a certain percentage of jobs should be reserved for them in all establishments where they could be usefully employed.

Fruitful Efforts

AMONG THE VARIOUS areas of science and technology, electronics has surely been one of the most spectacular, not only in terms of the phenomenal progress achieved but the extent to which it has contributed to the progress of other fields and permeated into diverse areas of daily human life.

Electronics has a vital role to play in the fields of atomic energy, communications, defence, education, entertainment, space technology, in the monitoring and control of production process in the engineering, chemical and metallurgical industries and so on. In the radios we listen to, in the TV sets we watch, in the microphone and loud speaker systems, in the telephone we use and so on, electronics surrounds and fills our daily lives.

Speech inaugurating the Electronics Exhibition, New Delhi, December 8, 1973.

Electronics is not only an important catalyst of modern technology but is also an equally important catalyst of socio-economic growth. It is highly capital forming and labour intensive and thus provides an ideal means for generating employment potential in large measure particularly for skilled workers. Further, it has the advantage that the level of sophistication of the employee rises at a fair rate through his service, thus providing means for advancement in respect of the level of the employee.

It is, therefore, not surprising that India has recognised the importance of the role of electronics and has taken significant steps to further the progress in this important sphere. Electronics made a humble beginning in India with the introduction of broadcasting in the 1920s. After India became independent in 1947, with the gradual increase in our defence and communication needs, a number of industrial undertakings in the Public Sector were set up for the manufacture of electronics components and systems. Thanks to the vision and foresight of our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Committee was set up in 1963, under the Chairmanship of that eminent scientist, the late Dr. Homi Bhabha, to chart a course for the future of electronics in this country. Unfortunately, Dr. Bhabha passed away a few days before he could submit the final Report to Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It was given to the late Dr. Vikram Sarabhai to pursue the follow-up action in respect of this Report. The keen interest and continuous support of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi led to the setting up of the Electronics Commission in 1971 and of the Department of Electronics which have been entrusted with the task of ensuring the growth of electronics in India on a self-reliant basis in the shortest possible time and in the best possible manner.

The magnitude and diversity of this electronics Exhibition is a testimony to the determined efforts of both the Government of India and the public, private and small scale sector undertakings in this important field. I am extremely happy to learn that the volume of production in the electronics field has reached a figure of over Rs. 2000 million in the year 1972-73.

India is a large country with a large and growing population. We have our own large needs in every aspect of human living including electronics. We are developing the electronics industry essentially to meet our own needs. But for a balanced development of the industry an export component is very vital to ensure high quality of product and to earn foreign exchange to meet the needs for the growth of this industry. I am, therefore, happy to learn that we have now started to export items in this highly competitive

area and that we have registered exports to the tune of Rs. 60 million in 1972-73. The Government of India is now setting up an export processing zone for electronics items near the Santacruz Airport at Bombay. With the completion of this project and with the setting up of similar projects elsewhere in the near future, electronics should prove to be an important source of foreign exchange for the country.

I understand that this Exhibition is the first effort to display under one roof, the diverse and far-flung nation-wide activities, that have, during the past few years registered an accelerated growth pattern. I hope that this Exhibition will prove to be a forerunner of many such efforts in the future. I would like to take this opportunity to welcome delegates of the many Asian countries who are attending the Conference and who are present here at the inauguration.

Medical Sciences

AM HAPPY to be here this morning and declare open the Neuro Block of the All India Institute of Mental Health. In this Institution, you have for the first time in India the unique combination of the 'Brain' specialities. This bringing together of the physical discipline, the mental discipline and also the social disciplines will certainly help a doctor to approach and treat a patient as a whole person.

When science was less developed a total approach to a human being was evident as seen from our traditional practices. But with the growth of science and increasing specialisation, the approach is becoming more and more technical. Medical treatment, with all its achievements, is tending to become increasingly de-humanised and impersonal. I am glad that a reappraisal is now taking place. There is a re-awakening among the health experts regarding the importance of the man behind the disease—the importance of recognising his personality and his social conditions as major factors in medical treatment. The active integration of the physical, mental and social aspects of man as seen in this Institution will go a

Speech declaring open the Neuro Block at the Government Mental Hospital and the All India Institute of Mental Health, Bangalore, December 30, 1973.

long way in humanising medical treatment. I am also convinced that this concept of comprehensive mental health, linking up medical treatment, problems of living and the growth of man and society, will go far beyond the field of health.

Your Institute has a pioneering role to play and I hope the work you do here will produce a significant impact on our health planning. This advanced brain sciences centre is also concerned with the study of 'Mind' in health and disease. I understand that a systematic investigation into the scientific basis of certain aspects of Yoga and meditation is part of the programme to be conducted in this Institute. Everyone is aware of the profound contributions our ancestors have made to understand the working of the mind, the thought processes and the higher state of consciousness. Unfortunately, this treasure remains unutilised in the practical field in our own country. Application of the latest scientific methods of brain research to elucidate the practical value of these and incorporate them into our health schemes in a rational way will be one of the major steps our country could take to solve the enormous health problem that we are faced with. I am very happy to learn that there is an Ayurvedic Mental Health Research Unit functioning in this Institute under the Central Council of Research in Indigenous Medicine and Homoeopathy—the only of its kind in the net-work of Ayurvedic units.

The co-existence of Allopathic and Ayurvedic systems in this research institution provides an ideal laboratory where modern technology and ancient knowledge can react with each other and bring out effective remedies. I am sure the Government will have no hesitation in making funds available liberally to an institution like this for any type of sophisticated equipment and expert personnel for research, if the outcome is going to be production and formulation of simple and inexpensive remedies, freely available in the country for our common people.

On this occasion, I would like to utter a warning against any blind imitation of the advanced countries of the West. There has been an alarming increase in mental sickness in some of these affluent countries. While they have conquered the infectious diseases and a host of other physical ailments, mental ill-health has been the bane of these countries. In many of these countries, more than 50 per cent of the total bed strength in hospitals is said to be in its mental hospitals and psychiatric wards. This, I believe, is due to the emotional insecurity created by their way of life and the fast pace of living. The permissive society and laxity of morals have further deepened this sense of insecurity. The increase in sex crimes and violence and the number of unmarried mothers and the high suicide rate are all a warning to developing countries like India not to blindly copy

this way of life. I firmly believe that we should be true to our cultural heritage, to the essential principles for which India has stood in the past through the ages and which are a distinct contribution to the civilisation of man. We must evolve a synthesis suited to our genius and temperament, a synthesis in which the progress of science and technology would be combined simultaneously with social development and the progress of the mind and spirit as well.

Man and Medicine

I AM VERY happy to be here amidst you today and participate in this function to honour some outstanding medical scientists who have in their own way contributed to the betterment of medical education and medical care in this country. The Medical Council of India has during its Silver Jubilee in 1959 constituted the Medical Council of India Silver Jubilee Research Award Fund under the dynamic leadership of the then President the late Dr. C. S. Patel. Other eminent medical scientists and statesmen like the late Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Jivraj Mehta and Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar have been associated with the Council and they have also lent distinction to the Council and its activities. The Silver Jubilee Research Award Fund has been utilised to make an award to an outstanding Indian Medical Scientist who has contributed in the greatest measure for the welfare of humanity by his original research. This award has encouraged a number of medical scientists in the various institutions in the country to work hard in different research fields and contribute their mite to the progress of Medicine in the country.

Today we are honouring an outstanding medical scientist of our country Dr. V. Ramalingaswami, Director of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, for his valuable work on the Aetiology and Pathogenesis of nutritional disorders in the country. He has been given the Medical Council of India Silver Jubilee Research Award, 1974 in recognition of his meritorious work.

The Medical Council of India has also constituted awards in memory of the late Dr. B. C. Roy, who was the first Indian President of the Medical Council of India and who is largely responsible for shaping its destiny. These awards have recognised medical

Speech while giving away the Silver Jubilee Research Award and Dr. B. C. Roy National Awards, New Delhi, March 15, 1974.

teachers and medical specialists in the country and Fellowships have also been given for brilliant medical graduates to pursue their higher studies. The Medical Council of India by these awards of a most laudable nature has helped considerably in the promotion of medical education and medical research in the country.

The problem which is confronting our country is the lack of provision of adequate medical care in the rural areas. It is for the members of the medical profession to consider how best this can be solved. The question of the unwillingness of the young doctors to go and practise in the rural areas has to be looked into. Government on its part will have to provide the necessary facilities for the doctors to work in these areas. The high degree of knowledge and skill attained by a medical graduate has to be utilised to the maximum possible extent by providing the necessary scope for the same. Every year a large number of young doctors who have qualified from our institutions are going abroad for employment or for higher study. It is for the country to devise some means by which the services of these young men and women could be utilised for the betterment of our people.

I would like on this occasion to stress on the supreme importance of carrying on purposive research work in our medical and scientific institutions. The work that is done in these institutions of higher learning must have relevance to the pressing problems of our people. Our country is a storehouse of valuable crude drugs and plants and many of them are still unexplored. I have no doubt that if these plant sources are properly tapped and scientifically assessed through co-ordinated research organised in leading medical colleges, good dividends can be expected. Indigenous research would also help the scientists of this country to establish themselves and work in this country instead of drifting abroad. We must be clear in our minds that the big manufacturing houses or research institutions in other countries may not be inclined to devote adequate finance and attention for research in tropical diseases. We should take the initiative and work for newer and better drugs. For many of our medical and health problems we ourselves have to find solutions. Nobody else will solve our problems. I have faith in our medical men and scientists and I am sure they would be successful in harnessing science and technology for giving our people a fuller and richer life.

Though these are days of increasing specialisation, I would call upon the doctors to treat the whole man. I am attracted by the concept of total health which treat the mind and body and spirit of man. Our people from time immemorial have considered the human body as a temple where divinity resides. Our ancient science of medicine has been appropriately called Ayurveda, the science of life.

In our conception, health meant positive well-being. It is not a negative concept meaning absence of disease. It is only on the basis of good health of our people that we can plan for a great future for our country. Medical and para medical personnel have a great responsibility in this regard.

Social Welfare

Succour the Disabled and Handicapped

I AM HAPPY to be here and associate myself with the twenty-second annual day celebrations of your Society. The objects of your *Vidyalaya* are very laudable indeed; not only do you provide education to these unfortunate blind girls but also train them in arts and crafts so as to make them self-supporting. The blind and handicapped people resent pity and charity. Though they lack normal vision their other senses are sharply developed and nature usually compensates them in some other way for their inadequacy. What they demand is proper training and adequate employment opportunities to live as self-respecting citizens.

Your *Vidyalaya* deserves to be congratulated for having undertaken this noble task of rehabilitating the blind. It is all the more gratifying to know that you admit these children without any distinction of caste, creed or race. The great progress which your *Vidyalaya* has made during the last 22 years is a tribute to the spirit of zeal and dedication of its members. The *Vidyalaya*, established in 1950, started with four students on its roll but today it is a full-fledged school giving education up to higher secondary standard and sending out its students for University education. I have no doubt that you will keep up the pace of development in the years to come and raise this *Vidyalaya* to a full-fledged degree college wherein the girls could be imparted vocational training also.

I have been suggesting that a certain percentage of jobs should be reserved for them in all the establishments where handicapped people could be suitably employed. I have also stressed time and again that a cess could be levied so that a fund could be created which will not only provide training centres for the handicapped but also start establishments where they could be gainfully employed. This will be in accordance with the spirit of the Directive Principles of State Policy adumbrated in our Constitution and will ensure to these unfortunate brothers and sisters equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

I am grateful for this opportunity to see the good work that you have been doing. I have no doubt that you will carry on your tasks with greater zeal and spirit of dedication so as to set example

Speech at the Annual Day Celebrations of the Rashtriya Virjanand Andh Karya Vidyalaya, New Delhi, January 13, 1972.

for others to emulate. I wish you godspeed in your noble endeavor.

Family Planning for Progress

IT IS VERY appropriate that this International Conference on Family Planning is being held today and in this country. We were the first country to take up family planning as an official programme. After the initial years of experimentation and progress, we are taking a searching second look not only at the different aspects of the programme but even at the assumptions behind it.

There is a growing feeling that family planning should not be presented merely as a programme of limitation of population. It is true, of course, that no planning will be meaningful if it does not take into account the growth of population. It is also true that too dense a population leads to an ecological crisis as the balance of nature is upset. Population planning, therefore has to be an integral part of any scheme of national development.

Ultimately it is the total health and happiness of the individuals in the country which will be the test of any welfare programme. This aim must be paramount. No enlightened society can afford to ignore the burden on the health of the mothers caused by repeated child bearing or the poor nutrition and care given to children in large families. In many developing countries one finds the phenomenon of poorer families sometimes wishing to have more children who soon start work and thus add to the family income. This is a logical wish where opportunity of education and advancement are denied to the down-trodden and under-privileged sections of society. These conditions are fast changing in our country.

Family Planning is a much wider concept than population control. There is a happy trend towards coordinated international thinking on this subject. It is good, therefore, that the best minds of the world seek to confer among themselves so that the programme might benefit from their common experience. I would only suggest that our ideas should not get stale and there should be a constant examination of assumptions which, at a given time, might appear to

be valid. There should be a constant reappraisal and refinement of concepts. I would plead that family welfare planning particularly must be woven around the general concept of the happiness of the individual. In this broader sense family welfare planning can be a catalyst for the all round development of the human person. The fundamental rights enumerated in our Constitution have assured everyone the 'right to work' and the 'right to live' and it is against this background of providing the basic necessities of life to everyone in the country we must consider the whole population policy.

I believe population education of the younger generation is an investment which will pay rich dividends in the years to come. Population education is not sex education nor instruction of family planning techniques, but it is the education of the dynamics of population growth—the basic economics and sociology of the problem. Every year about a million girls enter the reproductive age group and if they have an educated and rational attitude toward family size and accept the small family as a norm, our work in the future will become much easier. I also welcome the proposal to raise the age of consent for marriage both for boys and girls.

While it is good that experts in various fields—men of medicine, demographers, social scientists and communication specialists—get together to discuss various aspects of family planning, I would like to suggest that schemes for the welfare of the people cannot be reduced to a mere expert exercise, where an elite assumes to itself every aspect of decision making. Efficiency and expertise must subserve the people's needs and experts should bring to their task a spirit of humility and compassion.

While family planning is a multi-disciplinary function, medical personnel has a leadership role to play. Ultimately it is the confidence which their methods inspire in the people that will decide the success of the programme. Thus it is necessary that the methods should be as simple as possible. Apart from this, medical personnel are also eminently suited to motivating large sections of people because they have fairly close relations with the families of their patients. In developing countries, doctors and nurses will be fewer than required in the foreseeable future, thus increasing their normal burdens, but I am sure they will prove equal to the task.

Prevent Heart Diseases

I AM HAPPY to associate myself with this meeting organised by the All-India Heart Foundation and the Central Health Education Bureau to celebrate World Health Day which has as its theme : 'Your Heart is your Health'. The Day marks the anniversary of the coming into force of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation. This month in 1972 has been named as the World Heart Month and this is indeed a happy coincidence. Heart disease is responsible for more than half of the total annual deaths in countries like the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, etc. The disease is also responsible for large scale disability. Though not so acute as in the West, the problem is of great concern to India and other developing countries.

Heart disease—a collective term for all afflictions of the heart and blood vessels—has been in existence from time immemorial. Ailments like chest pain, breathlessness, swelling of feet, etc. were recognised and treated without realising their association with the cardiovascular system. There have also been sudden deaths of apparently healthy people and since doctors could do little or nothing, myths and fables gained currency about heart attacks. However, the advancement of medical science has given us hope that there is no need to fear any form of heart disease, as many of them can be prevented or treated and the patients can be helped to lead normal and productive lives.

Reliable nation-wise statistics are not available on mortality in India on account of heart attack. But an analysis of vital statistics for Poona and Bombay for 18 years, between 1944 and 1962 showed that death on account of heart disease had increased by more than 200 per cent. Experience has shown that it is business executives, doctors, lawyers and engineers at the peak of their professions and earning capacity, who fall victims to heart attack.

People who move about in motor cars, use elevators to go from one floor to another, eat food rich in fat and refined sugar and remain glued to their seats at their offices are prone to heart disease. These people must find time for some physical activity and physical exercise like walking, swimming, playing games, cycling. It has also been proved beyond doubt that cigarette smoking causes not only lung cancer but also cardio-vascular disease. There must be a national

Speech at Public Meeting organised to celebrate World Heart Month, New Delhi, April 7, 1972.

campaign to educate people of all ages on the harmful effects of cigarette smoking. High blood pressure and diabetes are also risk factors but these can be effectively controlled by suitable drugs.

The stress and strain of modern life is taking a heavy toll. It is the cultivation of right mental attitude that will help us to avoid emotional strain. As my illustrious predecessor, Dr. Radhakrishnan used to say we cannot control events but we can control our reaction to events. Equanimity of mind is very essential to face problems of life. The danger of heart attack seems to depend on maladjustment to environment. When the environment changes certain old habits persist and are superimposed on by newly acquired ones. Sometimes old habits are completely discarded in favour of new habits and way of life. Therefore, it is essential to cultivate discipline and health habits which should be in line with the environment and the energy requirements of the body. There is no preventive inoculation against heart attack. The only method is prevention and this calls for a continuous programme of education.

Cardiology and heart surgery have come a long way; but medical and surgical treatment is becoming more and more expensive and beyond the reach of common man. Therefore, it becomes imperative to adopt measures rather than seek treatment. This is particularly so in the case of heart attacks because the malady strikes suddenly, and often without warning. It may be too late to seek treatment after getting heart attack because about 30 per cent of those who get their first heart attack die.

In conclusion, I would appeal to all of you to be centres for the dissemination of information for the prevention of all forms of heart diseases.

Society as a Guardian

I AM HAPPY that the Central Institute of Research & Training in Public Co-operation functioning under the Union Department of Social Welfare has convened this seminar. It symbolises our increasing

Speech inaugurating the National Seminar on "Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped—the role of Government and the community", New Delhi, April 11, 1972.

concern for a segment of the population which has been a mute sufferer of social and economic rejection. With socialism as our goal, we cannot but take a careful look at every limb of our social organism to ensure that it is healthy and functioning.

The Physically-handicapped constitute an important part of every community, both from the stand-points of social potential and economic capability. According to a recent survey, ten percent of the population in economically-advanced countries suffers from some physical impairment. The percentage is not like ours. It is inconceivable that such a large population with so varied a social and economic background belonging to both the sexes and possessing a wide range of skills, should be denied a reasonable opportunity to toil for their own good and participate in the exciting adventure of national re-construction.

The marvels of modern science and technology have transformed many of our ways of living. Paradoxically, however, while advances in bio-medical sciences have brought enormous relief from pain and disease, the risk of physical impairment is still great. The number of handicapped persons is, therefore, very substantial in almost every country. Every nation has, therefore, to give careful thought to ways of utilising this vast reservoir of human skills and abilities.

The concept of vocational rehabilitation has undergone a steady evolution in the past half-a-century. To start with, the goal was to find a suitable occupation for the disabled. The objective is now much broader. We have begun to appreciate that man does not live by bread alone and that even in order to enable him to earn his bread, every facet of his personality needs to be developed. Vocational rehabilitation is, therefore, now looked upon as a process of involving the total person. It envisages a delicate and working balance between his emotional life, his need for earning a living and his longing for self-fulfilment. The problem before this seminar is, therefore, broad-based and truly human. From the list of papers to be read at the seminar, I am glad to find that you are going to take a comprehensive view of the needs of the disabled.

It is undeniable that one of our basic needs is for economic security. The prime focus of the seminar will, therefore, rightly be on equipping the disabled for competent occupational performance and on the choice, of realistic careers for them. In view of the wide spectrum of disabilities from which men suffer and the peculiar problems, arising from each one of these impairments, this is truly a gigantic task. Its accomplishment calls for diligent study and precise planning. The vocational rehabilitation of the disabled bristles with problems, calling for urgent and intensive study as well as original

research. I have no doubt that the galaxy of experts who have assembled here, will bring to bear on the many issues in this area, an originality of approach, preciseness of thought and a fund of experience from which could come the most practicable solutions.

The training and employment of the disabled offers both physical and psychological problems. Included in the first category are such issues as matching the residual abilities of a disabled person with the requirements of a given job, modifying plant and equipment, where needed, and developing new techniques of approaching old jobs. An attack on these problems will need the collaboration of engineers, architects, employers and managers. Also involved in this category of problems is the question of developing new and effective aids to minimise the impact of disability. This is a broad area, requiring the collaboration of a number of disciplines, drawn from the bio-medical and engineering sciences. In fact, a concerted endeavour on the part of the scientific community is needed to study to what extent the advances made in different technological fields could be utilised for improving the functional ability of the disabled.

The problem of rehabilitating the disabled cannot be solved unilaterally either by the State or by the community. Close collaboration between the State, voluntary organisations and every member of the community is of vital importance. It is gratifying, therefore, that the seminar will devote itself to a consideration of the roles of the community and the Government in this task.

Voluntary effort has been the traditional pioneer in this area. The State is gradually entering the field. Among other things, the seminar will also consider how a legislative base could be given to the development of services for the disabled. The number of disabled persons in the country and our commitment to social objectives makes this an issue of great significance. It is the duty of the State and the community to help the handicapped to eschew despair and move away from alienation to integration, from welfare to economic viability and from inferiority to equality.

I have merely endeavoured to view the problem in a broad perspective. With your wide and varied experience, you will no doubt consider the almost limitless nuances and dimensions of the problem but never losing sight of the need to adopt a down-to earth approach. With this, I would like to wish the participants every success in their deliberations. I am particularly pleased to know that among participants in this Seminar are people like Dr. Mary Verghese, Shri N. D. Devan who though seriously handicapped have overcome their disabilities through sheer will power and have dedicated their life to the cause of the disabled. They represent the triumph of the human spirit

and I am sure their example would be an inspiration for the millions of physically disabled people.

A Citizen of the World

I DEEM IT a great honour and privilege to confer on Mother Teresa the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding. The last four recipients of this honour were great names either in international politics and public affairs, or in the realm of art and culture. Today we are honouring an eminent person whose work is in an entirely different field away from the glare of publicity. Mother Teresa symbolises the best traditions of Christian love. In honouring her today we are honouring the great Indian tradition of showing reverence for renunciation and sacrificial living. We take pride in calling our land *Tyaga bhoomi*—the land of sacrifice. It is our belief that saints and holy men by their austere living and penance sustain this world. To them religion is not dogma or ritual but a living faith born out of deep conviction and self-realisation. Mother Teresa is among those emancipated souls who have transcended all barriers of race, religion, creed and nation. To them the human race is one and indivisible and their goal is to build a world of joy and peace, harmony and goodwill.

Born of Albanian parents in Yugoslavia Mother Teresa is a citizen of the world in the true sense of the word. Nearly 25 years ago she renounced her shelter existence in a Calcutta Convent and took upon herself the onerous responsibility of serving the poorest of the poor in the slums of that City. It was her conviction, zeal and tenacity of purpose that were responsible for her venturing into this unknown world. Thanks to her dedicated labour of love she has been able to bring solace and hope to innumerable people.

There could be no better contribution to international understanding and goodwill than the solid but unostentatious work done by Mother Teresa and her intrepid band of missionary workers. In the troubled world of today embittered by numerous conflicts and hatreds, the life and work of people like Mother Teresa bring a new hope for the future of mankind. They exemplify the true

Speech while presenting the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for international understanding to Rev. Mother Teresa, New Delhi, November 15, 1972

spirit of internationalism for which Jawaharlal Nehru lived and laboured. On a memorable occasion Nehru proclaimed : "Any Man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind". This is the spirit that will save mankind in this atomic age. Mother Teresa is a living embodiment of this spirit of compassion and it is right and proper that she is honoured today with an award instituted in the name of a great emancipator of the human race who strove for liberty and dignity not only for his countrymen but for all the oppressed people of the world.

I firmly believe that humanism is the highest form of religion and it is the light that never fails. There cannot be any higher ideal than service of humanity. Mother Teresa has shown that the best way to worship God is to live and serve mankind. Before her all-embracing humanism, all differences of race, religion and nationality have disappeared. I hope the work of people like Mother Teresa will help us to overcome the crisis of character that we see all round. The advance of civilization is not to be judged by the possessions of material goods but by how far the human beings have developed the spiritual and moral aspects of their personalities. All the riches of the world will not bring lasting happiness or bliss to any one unless and until the individual bases his faith and acts on definite principles of morality. We must always bear in mind that we are not seeking mere economic progress but the full flowering of the human personality which will enable man to realise his true potential as a human being. While we endeavour to raise the standard of living of our people we must never lose sight of the larger perspective—the perspective of man.

I would like to pay a special tribute to Mother Teresa for her noble work in the cause of those unfortunate people to whom the joy of living has been denied on account of physical deformities. I greatly appreciate her work for leprosy patients in Calcutta and elsewhere. She has not only brought a new hope to them but has made them useful citizens by giving them productive employment. I am sure her work will be an inspiration to all voluntary agencies working in this field. I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate my suggestion that Government should consider the question of levying a cess for creating as in the case of refugee relief a fund for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. I am sure our people will not grudge to pay an additional amount for this noble cause. Unless the large body of disabled people are absorbed in gainful occupations the country will have to bear a colossal economic burden. I am an optimist and I am convinced that as long as there are persons like Mother Teresa there is hope for mankind.

Social Transformation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Council of Social Welfare. The Council has been, to a large extent, responsible for creating the public consciousness of the urgency of attending to problems of social development. It is being increasingly realised that social and economic development must go hand in hand if we are to attain the ideals for which we have worked and for which we continue to stand.

One of the most important functions of the Council has been to provide a National Forum for the discussions of various social issues. This is important because a number of agencies have come into being and are endeavouring to deal with different aspects of these vast issues. There is need for a dialogue between the various agencies working in the field of the welfare of the under-privileged. The Council can continue to play a very valuable coordinating role in this field, even after the State steps into the area with large resources.

Until the advent of independence this work tended to be the exclusive responsibility of voluntary organisations. Delayed as the entry of the State has been, the nature of the problem encountered and the financial resources needed make it necessary for the State to take an increasing part in the growth and development of Social Welfare. Since the advent of independence the Central and State Governments have been assuming increasing responsibility in this area. Recognizing the invaluable services rendered by the voluntary organisations, they have tended to provide the needed finance and at the same time to give to voluntary organisations maximum possible independence in the operation of the programmes in order to ensure greater flexibility of approach and elasticity in operation.

So great has been the variety of organisations working in different fields of social welfare that I think the time has come when the State and voluntary organisations should get together to have a careful look at what each of them ought to do in this area. This is necessary in the light of the great constraints on resources and in order to avoid duplication of efforts.

While I believe a larger national debate is needed, we have already had some discussions on this subject. The consensus of opinion appears to be that the State should promote an increasing role for the voluntary sector. Implied in this is the requirement that the organisa-

tional structure of the voluntary sector should be strengthened. The Council can devote some thought on providing a clear and more effective demarcation between the functions of the State and the voluntary organisations. Any guidelines proposed by your Council will, I am sure, receive the careful attention of the Government.

While it is not my intention to provide a chronicle of the efforts made by the State in this area it will be worthwhile to make a pointed reference to some important measures that we have already taken. Soon after the inauguration of the First Plan, the Government of India set up the Central Social Welfare Board which has, for the last two decades, been offering financial assistance to a large network of voluntary organisations with a view to stimulating the growth of voluntary work in the rural areas. This Board has been endeavouring to promote the welfare of women, children and the handicapped. Simultaneously, there has been a similar expansion in the activities of the other Apex Welfare Agencies both at the National and State levels.

One of the most under-privileged groups in our community consist of the physically and mentally handicapped. The Central Government has already undertaken a substantial programme of scholarships, building up national institutions, offering employment opportunities and certain other measures for the education and rehabilitation of the handicapped.

Human material constitutes one of the valuable national resources. Almost half of the population consists of women. Unfortunately in the pre-independence period inadequate attention was paid to the education of women and girls and to persuade them to participate more effectively in the normal stream of social and economic activity. However, effort are now being made to provide to our women and girls increased opportunities for doing so. As a step in this direction, the Government of India has appointed a committee on Status of Women in India to undertake a comprehensive enquiry into the status of women and to suggest measures to be taken to afford women more opportunities of contributing to our national life. I hope that as a direct consequence of this renaissance among our women, a large amount of womanpower would be made available for welfare work at the grass-roots. I am sure that the long list of devoted women social workers would become much larger in the near future. It is they who will be able to make a real change in our rural sector.

Useful Social Studies

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to declare open the new building of the Indian Social Institute whose foundation-stone was laid by me in January last year.

Even as a house has to be transformed into a home, so too, this spacious building will have to be taken over by the staff of the Institute and, under the able guidance of its Director, transformed into a centre for the national expression of voluntary participation in the ambitious plans of the Government for the growth of a society free from poverty, hunger and the injustice of social inequalities. The Institute, as is well known, has a solid record of achievement in various categories of social service, management and labour, urban and rural community development programmes, research and publications. I am especially happy to see that in all its multifarious activities the Institute has taken care to build up a wide network of co-operative relationships with Government, professional and voluntary organisations, in the common task of improving the social and economic conditions of our people.

Among the specialised services offered by the Institute, I would attach great importance to the programmes of its Family Life Centre. The process of modernisation has led to the erosion of the structure of the joint family, particularly in the industrial-urban areas, and affected the traditional patterns of marriage and family life. After Independence, there have been substantial changes in the role and status of women in society and, because of the new opportunities for education and the wider social and economic freedom they now enjoy, women are increasingly participating in work outside the home. In such an atmosphere of change and transition there is a tendency for family norms and values to be questioned, and sometimes discarded so that relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, are marked by uncertainty, tension and insecurity.

It is generally agreed that this silent social transformation that is taking place in the contemporary family has emphasized the need for welfare agencies and social institutions to ensure the continuance of social security previously provided by the joint family, and to strengthen healthy patterns of family life in modern India by making a wide range of social, educational and counselling services available to the entire family. I welcome the extensive involvement of the Family Life Centre in population education and the preparation of young people for marriage and responsible parenthood; of no less importance are the

Speech while dec'aring open the new premises of the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, December 10, 1972

specialised courses designed to train parents, teachers, social workers and youth leaders in the social skills and techniques of family life education, marriage counselling and child guidance. More intensive study is required of the various factors which determine the emotional, social and economic well-being of the family, and systematic humanitarian efforts will have to be made to provide food, clothing, medical assistance, education and other necessities of life for poor and unemployed families.

A significant contribution of the Institute to rural development is the effort of its Extension Service to promote agricultural projects for the benefit of marginal and small farmers and landless labourers. The Institute has field personnel in almost all the States of the Union whose task is to guide individual local sponsors in the formulation of development projects with the emphasis on self-help and co-operative action of the community. This is, indeed, a very constructive endeavour in the field of socio-economic development where it is desperately needed. I am glad to know that at its Training Centre at Bangalore, the Institute conducts an intensive, residential programme for training in project organisation, social work techniques and community development.

As one who had the privilege of being associated with the trade union movement from its very inception, I greatly appreciate the courses in trade union leadership organised by the Institute for the betterment of the Indian worker. I am glad to know that trade union leaders have been given intensive training by the Institute at Madras, Bangalore, Bombay and Ranchi in collaboration with Madras Productivity Council, the Central Labour Institute and the Management Training Institute of Hindustan Steel. At this particular juncture of our country's history, nothing is of such crucial importance as higher productivity and industrial peace, if we are to attain our declared goal of economic growth with social justice. The relatively poor rate of industrial productivity recorded during the last year is an indication that neither employers nor workers have yet understood their social obligations to function as responsible partners in the progress of the country. Especially in an age of technological revolution which has given rise to complex environmental and social problems, it is no longer possible for management and the unions to be concerned exclusively with wages and profits, and to disclaim responsibility for the wider community.

On the part of management, I would like to see acceptance of a greater measure of responsibility for the reduction of the social and human costs in the selection of technological processes of production. Management should be concerned not only with the deterioration of the environment and the conservation of scarce natural

resources, but also with improvements in the working environment so that the worker may experience greater job satisfaction. On the part of trade unions, there is need of a radically new approach to the questions of multi-unionism, low productivity, indiscipline and participation in the management of the industrial enterprise. Only if management and trade unions accept their common responsibility for the progress of the whole of society will it be possible for us to envisage a period of productivity with job satisfaction, employer-worker co-operation with industrial peace, growth with social justice.

Nursing—a Noble Profession

I AM VERY happy to be here today to present the National Award for nurses for their meritorious services. I congratulate the recipients of the Award. This is the first time an award of this type has been instituted, and it shows the nation's recognition of the spirit of service and devotion to duty of the members of the nursing profession. Nursing is one of the noblest of humane callings. The sick, the infirm and the disabled arouse compassion. Nursing directly alleviates pain, discomfort and suffering, and that is why it has always made a great appeal to men and women who have chosen to dedicate their lives to the services of their fellow-men. Lord Buddha himself nursed the sick and laid down many wise and farsighted maxims on nursing. It is well-known that the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, used to take care of leper patients.

Today nursing and its status have improved to a great extent, particularly during the last 25 years. It is no longer the refuge of the widow and the orphan or of the woman who is not good enough for any other work. Nursing now attracts many intelligent young women of good education who see in it the prospects of a worthwhile career. A better and improved system of nursing education has brought nursing more in tune with other professions. Public Health Nursing has brought the nurses closer to the day-to-day life of the people. All this has given nursing a better status in the community. Medical Science plays an important role in making nursing scientific. Nursing techniques are constantly changing and growing and assimilating new areas

Speech while giving away the National Awards to Nursing Personnel, New Delhi, December 11, 1972

of service in accordance with new medical knowledge. Nursing has now taken its due place as a profession. The facilities in our country, even though limited enable nurses to qualify themselves to function adequately as professional members of the health team.

Today, the nursing profession has also contributed towards emancipation of women. I am glad to know that over a lakh of women have qualified so far in the different categories of nursing personnel. Trained nurses from India are today working in various parts of the world and have made name for themselves for their dedicated service. It is important that Nursing education should be brought within the general system of education, with facilities for post-graduate and continuing education.

Rotary Club

THANKS TO THE social awareness of the members of the Kottayam Rotary Club, we are today launching a project which is one very near to my heart—the education of children of war widows upto the university.

I greatly welcome your decision to provide for the expenses for education upto the college level of the children of Jawans from Kottayam District who laid down their lives in the defence of the country. This indeed is a fine patriotic gesture. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to our brave soldiers for the valour and courage they displayed. It was their devotion and dedication that saved the honour of the country at a critical juncture. It is our duty to do our best for the families of these jawans. I am glad that the Kottayam Rotary Club has worked out a concrete plan of action to help the children of these jawans by meeting the entire fees, the cost of uniforms, text-books and other incidental expenses. I appeal to the public-spirited bodies all over the country to emulate the example of the Kottayam Rotary Club and ensure that the families of our brave jawans who had laid down their lives are well cared for.

I have had the pleasure of addressing many Rotary Clubs in India and abroad. It is the international outlook of the Rotary movement and its ideal of 'One World', on which I have sincerely placed my faith, that has strengthened my association with friends of the Rotary

Speech while inaugurating the Rotary Club's scheme of aid to children of war widows, Kottayam, April 9, 1973

International. Your motto that guides your activities 'Service above Self has always attracted me. In fact, I feel it is this spirit that should permeate throughout the world among all human beings if we want to realise the ideal of peace on earth and goodwill among men.

A Great Humanitarian Movement

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to preside once again over the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association.

The Indian Red Cross can look with satisfaction on its achievements. In recent years, the Red Cross Movement had to face many formidable challenges. The exodus of millions of refugees from Bangladesh in what has been described as the biggest migratory movement in history posed a task of unparalleled magnitude to the Government and the people of India. The Indian Red Cross rose to the occasion and did a splendid job in organising relief work. St. John Ambulance Association and the Brigade also played a crucial role in the relief operations. With the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign state and the consequent return of evacuees to their homeland, the stupendous task of providing relief gradually came to an end. But last year, you had to face the great task of aiding and assisting the Bangladesh Red Cross in its humanitarian work.

Your organisation symbolises some of the finest aspirations of the human mind. Yours is one of the strongest movements for peace and goodwill among mankind. To us in India who are the inheritors of the heritage of the Buddha and Gandhi, these ideals are not new. All the great religions preach compassion as the true sign of an emancipated human-being. The Red Cross Movement is based on the spirit of compassion and the spirit of internationalism. If this spirit permeates the world of today many of the problems that defy solution could easily be solved. Piling of armaments and nuclear weapons cannot solve any problem. It can only promote a feeling of grave insecurity.

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity given to me to be present in your midst today. I offer my congratulations to the Chairman, Shri Ranganathan and the Secretary-General, Major General S. S.

Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, New Delhi, April 30, 1973

Maitra and his devoted band of workers on the fine record of work. I also want to place on record my appreciation of the services rendered by Shri C. K. Daphtary who functioned as Hony. Legal Adviser and I wish the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance Association every success in the task of serving the people.

Leprosy is Curable

I HAVE LISTENED with deep interest to the Chairman's report on anti-leprosy work in India. You have indeed made commendable progress, thanks to the dedicated endeavour of voluntary organisations and the help from various countries. It is gratifying to know that a global effort is now being made to eradicate this scourge of humanity. Modern medicine has taken the terror out of this dreaded disease and it is now being made amply clear that leprosy is curable and that the rehabilitation of the patient must start as quickly as possible after diagnosis.

This year will be a milestone in your progress. You are going to celebrate in a few months the Silver Jubilee of the All India Leprosy Workers' Conference and the Centenary of the discovery of the leprosy Bacillus by Dr. G. A. Hansen. Another important event which you will commemorate this year is the centenary of the landing of Father Damien at Molokai. You have just heard a glowing homage to the life and work of Father Damien by Shri T. N. Jagadisan. Father Damien was one of those rare souls who was an embodiment of Christian love in action. He transcended all barriers of race, religion, creed and nation. To him human race was one and indivisible and his goal was to bring the joy of life to those unfortunate people who suffer from physical deformities. His work of mercy has indeed become a legend and his noble example is today inspiring countless thousands of people.

I believe the time has now come to carry on the leprosy work with redoubled vigour. I am glad to know of our plans for your future and I am sure you will find increasing support from the Government and the people for the noble work you are doing. More than anything, what is required is the dedication and devotion of workers, who have

taken up this cause as their mission in life. Prevention of deformity, vocational training and provision of employment opportunities are all essential components of our leprosy control programme.

The psychological aspects of the rehabilitation of leprosy patients are of utmost importance. Let us always remember what Mahatma Gandhi said : "Leprosy work is not merely medical relief, it is transforming the frustration in life into the joy of dedication, personal ambition into selfless service. If you can transform the life of a patient or change his values of life you can change the village and the country."

Problems of the Depressed

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to preside once again over the Annual series of Sanjivayya Memorial Lectures on the "Problems of the Depressed". My association with the late Shri Sanjivayya was long and intimate. I knew the immense interest and concern he had for the welfare of the socially handicapped and weaker sections of the community. Being a Harijan himself, he naturally, had a more personal awareness of their problems and difficulties than others. Both as Minister for Harijan Welfare and later as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Sanjivayya initiated and pursued a number of ameliorative measures for the weaker sections of society. In the very many positions he occupied in our national life as Union Minister for Industry and later of Labour and as the President of the AICC, Sanjivayya exhibited a rare understanding of the problems of the day and devoted himself whole-heartedly to these tasks with dedication and dynamism. He was purposeful in his approach and was always ready to learn from others. He was a man of exceptional modesty and had a great future before him. It was a pity that a life so full of promise should have been cut off at such a young age.

The subject of this evening's talk relates to the problems of the depressed. The Directive Principles of the Constitution lay down that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. In a country, where levels of living of the bulk of the population are very low by interna-

tional standards, these two distinct categories of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are backward even by Indian standards. According to the 1971 figures the population of Scheduled Castes was 80 million and that of Scheduled Tribes 38 million. Together they constitute nearly 22% of the country's total population. They suffer from certain specific disabilities and the Constitution has placed a special responsibility on the State to protect and promote their interests. The task is to enable them to catch up with the rest of the community in India as expeditiously as possible. This can be achieved only by drawing up a time-bound programme, with a clear perspective of bringing the level of at least the lowest among these communities to the average Indian level. Enhanced facilities in education, training, employment and land tenure and specific economic uplift programmes have been implemented from Plan to Plan.

Several Teams, Commissions and Committees appointed by Government have attempted to identify the weaker sections of the community whether they are the Harijans or the Adivasis or other backward classes. The team under the Chairmanship of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan identified the weaker sections of the village community and suggested steps for taking up development schemes by Government. The team (1960) identified weaker sections constituting 80% of the rural households with an income of less than Rs. 1000 per annum and 50% as forming the lower rung of the ladder with less than Rs. 500 a year, consisting of landless labour or cultivators with very small land holdings, small artisans or destitutes with no means of livelihood at all. The majority of the population belonging to the Harijan and Adivasi falls within this, 'below poverty level' section.

The Approach to the Fifth Plan which has been approved by the National Development Council has stated that poverty level has to be defined in terms of a minimum level of consumption and it has been stated that elimination of poverty which is the basic objective of the people living below the poverty level must be enabled to have access to the minimum private consumption level of Rs. 20 per capita per month at 1960-61 prices. In my book 'Jobs For Our Millions' I have stressed that a growth-oriented strategy fully utilising all available manpower resources must be woven into the economy. Development planning for the weaker sections should, therefore, envisage an abnormal growth potential together with a far more intensive level of growth specially in favour of the weaker sections of the society than has ever been attempted. The growth process must necessarily envisage a policy of massive employment generation through all existing channels of production, thereby not only increasing the per capita income of the individual but also creating a huge reservoir of community assets for a better standard of living.

Right from the days in 1938, when I happened to be the Convener of the National Planning Committee, under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have been pleading that it is integrated economic planning from the grass-roots, with the objective of total utilisation of manpower resources, which is the answer to our country's poverty. When I referred to integrated planning, I had envisaged that greater development should not result in greater inequality or concentration of economic power, nor should such a process of development result in increasing tensions or mounting unrest. The last 20 years of economic growth has placed more than proportionate emphasis on productive aspects of economy through investment in agriculture and industrial production and their infrastructure, with lesser and lesser percentage of investments on social services which by and large benefit the weaker sections of the community, particularly those living below the poverty line.

I am glad that the Approach to the Fifth Plan has rightly emphasised the view that much larger investments are necessary in social services and social welfare than ever before. In this war against poverty that we have launched, the next decade has to witness an important phase in our development planning. The package of social security and welfare measures, which will be carried at least to those 40% of the population living below the poverty line, should ensure the provision of the minimum requisites for bare living and eliminate the fear of lacking this bare minimum.

The national programme for minimum needs envisaged in the Approach Document for investment on Education, Health, Nutrition, Drinking Water, Housing, Communication and Electricity to the poor is a significant step. 150,000 villages, most of which are inhabited by Adivasis or Harijans, with no suitable drinking water facility, will come under this programme. Likewise, the proposal to increase the number of sub-centres for providing minimum public health facilities to each unit covering a population of 10,000, the provision of house-sites for rural landless labour and linking inaccessible tribal areas and rural areas with roads and electricity is another significant provision.

The overall objective of the development of backward communities is to effect substantial improvements in their standards of living by eliminating exploitation, providing major sectoral allocations from the economic development programmes, bringing about increase in the levels of literacy, effecting major changes in their occupational pattern and development of infrastructure in terms of marketing, provision of credit, communications and irrigation so that they could come up to an adequate minimum level of living, comparable with that of the general population. Efforts should be directed towards quickly narrowing and

finally eliminating the disparities that exist between backward classes and the rest of the community.

The process of democratic decentralisation, resulting in the transfer of developmental functions to the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, has not specially benefited the backward classes, as the representatives of these communities have not been effective in ensuring an adequate flow of resources in their favour, on account of the dominance of the powerful caste groups in the local bodies who control the economy in the area and have thus a hold over the interests of the weaker sections. We have to be vigilant against this tendency and safeguard the interests of the weaker sections in the Panchayat Samitis.

It has also been observed that the allocations under welfare of backward classes in the successive plans which were meant to be supplementary to those in the general sectors of development have, in fact, substituted the latter. The general sector programmes have not benefited the backward classes, either in proportion to their population, or the area they inhabit. In the Fifth Plan, Central Ministries and State Governments should ensure that the general sector programmes in agriculture, village and small industries, drinking water wells, communications, education and public health should specially cater to the needs of these weaker sections.

After independence, the Criminal Tribes Act, which was a blot on our statute book, was abolished but the condition of the *Vimukthajathis* continues to be causing concern. Government's efforts should be specially directed towards the rehabilitation of these communities.

The problems of the Adivasis have been studied with great care and expertise by the Dhebar Commission. The Commission pointed out that while the objectives laid down in the Constitution in regard to the Adivasis have been clear-cut, there has been a great amount of laxity in implementation of the programmes by the State governments. The commission's principal recommendation related to the attainment of the two-fold objective of protection and development, laid down in the Constitution, through special protective machinery, in favour of the tribals, and intensive integrated development of tribal areas, through a network of tribal development blocks. The Commission also recommended, among other things, a single-line administration of tribal areas, holding a special officer responsible for the full implementation of development schemes, as a time-bound package programme. The problems of the Adivasis being very peculiar in their nature and complexity, the Commission stressed the need for a cadre of specialist administrators with intimate knowledge of tribal areas. Further, the problems of the Adivasis need sympathy, understanding, a total sense

of dedication to their welfare and development. Postings to tribal areas and to man the departments of tribal welfare should not be treated as punishment postings, but only those with deep knowledge of their problems and dedication to their work should be assigned these tasks. The Dhebar Commission referred to the ills plaguing the tribal areas, viz., loss of land, heavy indebtedness, the usury of money-lenders, contractors and traders and the system of bonded labour that still prevailed in certain areas. The Commission, further, regretted the curtailment of forest rights and privileges and commended a total socio-economic development of the tribal areas through well-thought out plans and programmes. The displacement of the tribal people consequent upon the opening up of the tribal areas by heavy industrial, mining, irrigation and hydro-electric projects was specially commended upon and stress was laid on the need for systematic rehabilitation of the evacuees.

Comparative isolation, low technological development and the way of living, almost bound down by the tyranny of custom—all these factors in their totality had given them a completely different and distinct culture, compared to the rest of the people in the country. Their beliefs, attitudes and practices forming a distinct web of its own had become an integrated part of their very being. Their rich culture, song and dance, simplicity of manner and independence of spirit, distinguish them from the rest of the people. Their innocence has often been exploited and they were driven to habitations in the hills and totally isolated areas. No uniform pattern of development can be made applicable to all tribal people, as it has to suit the particular people and the area they inhabit. Therefore, welfare programmes for the Adivasis must be in conformity with their social values and patterns of life and must take into consideration their own receptivity to such programmes and willingness and ability to assimilate with the rest of the society. It is, therefore, difficult to subject the programmes for them to a rigid order of priority that could be universally acceptable. The social welfare administrator, who plans for their programmes, should carefully study their felt-needs and those of the areas they inhabit and formulate schemes accordingly. Such an approach should be based on a clear understanding of their own values, institutions and response.

In a large number of urban and semi-urban areas in India, the Harijans continue to practice unclean occupations such as scavenging, flaying and tanning under sub-human conditions. Such practices are a blot on our culture and civilisation and Gandhiji had always striven for the elimination of such inhuman practices and for improvement in their working and living conditions. Commendable efforts have been made in studying the disabilities of Harijans practising such unclean

occupations, but the community's efforts at bringing about a radical improvement have not been adequate. Diversification of occupations should be given priority, so that the Harijans and Adivasis could be settled on non-traditional occupations. Caste-based occupations, at the same time, should be modernised so that the stigma attached to some of them and which is the cause for the continuance of untouchability, may, to a large extent, be removed. One of the measures towards improving the working conditions of the sweepers and scavengers is, to adopt legislative measures in construction of new houses or any other buildings in towns or cities which should have water closets.

Before concluding, I would like to specially say a few words on the Harijan problem. Though Article 17 of the Constitution abolished untouchability and Parliament passed the Untouchability Offences Act, the prevalence of this evil in rural areas extensively, and its further manifestation in atrocities against the Harijan Community, are matters that should cause concern to any citizen. Apart from strengthening Government's vigilance machinery to properly enforce the implementation of the Act, the entire nation should exhibit its solidarity in eradicating this evil and stand by the Harijans in resisting denial of human rights to the weaker sections.

One of the most important methods that can be adopted to lift up the Harijans socially is, apart from giving them proper education, to make them economically independent. This particular aspect of the development of Harijans does not appear to have been stressed adequately in the previous Five-Year Plans. While a large number of Harijans have been allotted lands, due to lack of infrastructure, the returns from these lands have been marginal. I have always been stressing that land allotment, as far as possible, should be only through land colonies, where facilities for scientific agriculture and intensive cultivation would be possible. The ownership of such lands should vest in the societies and individual *pattas* need not be granted in favour of the allottees. Otherwise there is the danger of the land going back to the money-lender or the bigger farmers. The colonists should be persuaded to take to agriculture as a full-time occupation, supplemented by power-operated rural industries. While preference has been given to Harijans in the allotment of land, the programme has not achieved the desired results, due to want of follow-up action on these lines. The Ministry of Agriculture's scheme of reclamation of waste lands and resettlement of landless labourers and assistance through the Small Farmers Development Agency should be integrated with the programme for settlement of Harijans and Adivasis as a package of development services.

I have attempted to survey briefly the rather complicated texture of some of the problems of the Harijans, Adivasis and other depressed sections of the community. They offer challenges in development and planning and the entire nation should take upon itself this gigantic task and implement a time-bound programme with a deep sense of dedication and utmost sympathy and understanding. We will be honouring the memory of one of the great sons of India, the late Shri Sanjivayya, by exhibiting a sense of urgency and purpose in this nation-building task of attending to the needs of the weakest sections of our community.

Casteless and Classless Society

IT IS A great pleasure for me to inaugurate this educational institution named after that eminent son of India, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The life history of Dr. Ambedkar epitomised the relentless struggle of a down-trodden community in our country against social ostracism and economic oppression. By his personal example, he showed how, by a total faith in self-reliance and by indomitable courage and perseverance, one can raise himself to a life of purposive greatness and be a constant source of inspiration to his fellowmen. His life is a constant reminder to us how much we owe to society to rid it of evil born of prejudice and superstition which have no sanction either of morality or of decent conduct. We are committed to building an egalitarian society where there will be no distinction between man and man, whether in regard to opportunities of life or in the day-to-day functioning as honoured members of that society.

Though Article 17 of the Constitution abolished untouchability and the Parliament has passed the Untouchability Offences Act, the prevalence of this evil, particularly in rural areas, is a matter that should cause grave concern to any citizen. The entire nation should exhibit its solidarity in blotting out this evil and stand by Harijans in resisting denial of human rights to the weaker sections of society. If untouchability or, for that matter any disability based on caste is being practised in any part of the country by anyone, the perpetrators of such practice should be branded the biggest enemies of society and dealt with as such. Very severe and deterrent punishment must be meted

out to them. More important than that is the growth of vigorous public opinion which will not tolerate these evil practices in our society. Those who ostracise must be ostracised. It is the force of public opinion that will strengthen the sanction of law and make it a living reality. Those persons who are better placed in life have got a duty to help and assist in bringing up to the level their less-fortunately placed brethren.

Today, India stands as one of the foremost champions of freedom, equality and human rights throughout the world. We have consistently stood against the evil forces of colonialism and racialism which have caused and are still causing so much misery and unhappiness to millions in this world. It was India's liberation from foreign yoke that started the process of emancipation of vast areas of Asia and Africa from the imperialist stranglehold. It is indeed a great pity that still sections of our people continue to harbour prejudices based on caste superiority. We will not have any moral right to pose as champions of human equality if in our own country we deny to large sections of our people the right to live in dignity.

Gandhiji warned us decades ago that he "would rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived". We pay only lip-sympathy to Gandhian ideals but flout them in our day-to-day life. The practice of untouchability is a cancer which would destroy our socialist democracy. Unless we remove it lock, stock and barrel, we will not be able to realise our ideal of a prosperous India in a peaceful world. We shall forfeit all our claims to be champions of the oppressed people everywhere if nearer home we fail to show the same concern for the weaker sections in our society.

I would like to call upon the students of this institution to emulate the example of this great son of India. Like him, they must be prepared to work hard. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable and he never spared any effort to master the subjects which he studied. Unless you equip yourself, properly and diligently, you will not be able to play a worthy role in the future. This is the time for serious study and you must never fritter your energies in meaningless pursuits. The raising of the standard of life of the Scheduled Caste and other backward communities is a herculean task. These communities are the worst victims of age-old superstitions and caste stratification. It is only a task force of dedicated men that can cure the community of these ills. I am sure the youngmen who are educated in institutions like this will form the core of the task force. What is required is selfless endeavour to bring the backward communities into the mainstream of our national life. The educated few must not isolate themselves from the rest of the community but be with them and work for their uplift. They must never, for purely selfish reasons, develop a

vested interest in the backwardness of the community. They must always work for the advent of a casteless and classless society where all communities will participate on terms of equality in the building of the nation. It is in ushering in a homogeneous society lies the hope and progress of all including the backward and weaker sections.

Educational institutions like yours will have to play a great part in meeting the challenges of the future. I wish the endeavours of the Dr. Amedkar Education Society and this College every success in their efforts to serve the weaker sections of society.

Aid the Handicapped

I AM HAPPY to inaugurate the National Exhibition for the Handicapped sponsored by the Department of Social Welfare. This occasion has provided many institutions and organisations for the handicapped, in various parts of our country, an opportunity to participate in the common endeavour of projecting the potentialities and abilities of the physically and mentally impaired persons in a convincing manner.

Every nation, developing or developed has a sizeable handicapped population. The effort to come to the aid of these persons has, therefore, to be made at national and international levels. I am particularly glad, therefore, that some of the foreign missions in this country have taken keen interest in this Exhibition.

The theme of this week is 'integration'. This is indeed a significant theme. All of us, normal or handicapped need to be integrated with one another in a total effort to do service to our country and its people. This Exhibition seeks to show how the handicapped and the non-handicapped can share in many activities. Handicapped persons can make beautiful things with their hands and minds. Creativity expressed through art forms is not beyond them.

Technological advances have made it easier for the handicapped to join in normal activities. For instance, recorded materials make it possible for the blind student not merely to cope with the requirements of his curriculum but also to keep abreast of current affairs. Powerful electronic aids confer a similar benefit on many persons

Speech while inaugurating the Exhibition for the Handicapped, New Delhi, March 20, 1974.

short of hearing. I am glad that this Exhibition is showing a wide choice of equipment designed here and elsewhere with the primary objective of enhancing the capacity of the handicapped to take part in common activities with persons who have a better physical or mental endowment.

Each one of us has to become aware of the great potentialities and capabilities of the handicapped persons. These human resources have to be developed and effectively utilised for the common good. The handicapped have to be helped to be the architects of their own destiny. The community has to be motivated to help the handicapped. This can best be done by an exhibition of this kind which vividly depicts the potential of the handicapped and ways in which problems arising from disablement can be successfully met.

I have great pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open.

Defence

Technocrat in War and Peace

IT IS A privilege indeed to be amidst a gathering of distinguished engineers. I am quite aware of the role played by you engineers in the progress of the country, and have no doubts that an Institution of this nature goes a long way in creating harmony in the various disciplines of engineering and technology. The important task of the industrial and economic advancement has been entrusted to the engineers and technologists, who spend about four-fifth of the national budget.

Your chairman a "Combat Engineer" himself, has talked at length about the role of the Army Engineers in the defence of the country, and the vital support rendered by the industry. In the recent conflict with Pakistan, our Armed Forces were once again called upon to defend the honour and integrity of our country, and we are proud indeed of the gallant way in which they fought for a just and righteous cause. The credit for the liberation of BANGLA DESH goes to our Armed Forces, who moved surely and swiftly and liquidated the enemy in the short space of fourteen days. This was largely due to the magnificent role played by the Army Engineers.

I understand that the motto of the Corps of Engineer is "*sarva-tra*", that is, to be everywhere. Considering the variety of tasks that they are called upon to perform, I feel that they have a very appropriate motto. The mobility of the advancing army certainly does become a responsibility of the Engineers, and the list of tasks performed by them in the execution of their duties is an endless one. General Das has mentioned only a few of the tasks like road construction, building bridges, clearing minefields, keeping our airfields operational round the clock, removing road blocks and so on. It is only the Army Engineers Who can perform such tasks, fighting against time, under the stress and strain of war. It has been rightly said that this war has been a war of the engineers. The fighting may have ended, but the tasks of the engineers of clearing enemy minefields and unexploded bombs and of reconstruction and rehabilitation consequent to the war damages will continue for some time to come.

The job done by the Works Services of the Corps of Engineers both during war and peace is noteworthy. The problem of providing accommodation to the Defence Services and the teeming millions is an

acute one, and call for greater attention. It is rightly claimed that the men of the Armed Forces, who serve under such difficult conditions for a major portion of their service, should be provided with suitable married accommodation whenever they get an opportunity to stay with their families. To this purpose, the Corps of Engineers have been entrusted with large-scale building projects. The Corps has also done commendable work in the other spheres of engineering as well, and it is encouraging to note that they have come up to the standard of providing consultancy to others.

The performance of these engineers in our Defence cannot be viewed in isolation. Our engineering industry, together with our research and development set up are closely associated with the defence potential in the country. The strength of the nation lies in a well-developed industrial capacity with increased productivity.

Another aspect I should like to touch upon is the research and development in the engineering science. Your Chairman has talked about the need for indigenous development and modernisation of engineering equipment for the Defence Services. In this modern age, no nation can expect to advance in any area of endeavour unless a certain amount of constructive research effort has been invested. A large number of research organisations and laboratories have already been set up in the country, and it is their task to concentrate on accelerated development of new materials and equipment and to devise new and more efficient methods in technology. This requires a closer liaison between the scientist engaged in fundamental research and the engineer, or production agency. There is a pressing need today for developing indigenous know-how. I am sure our industry, both the public and private sectors, will take up the challenge and achieve a break-through.

The Institution of Engineers (India) has as its objective to promote the general advancement of engineering and engineering science and their application in the country and to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas on these subjects amongst the members. I have no doubt that an august body of Engineers constituting this Institution will achieve the objective set before it.

I wish you every success.

Serving the Motherland

THE RASHTRIYA INDIAN Military College completes five decades of its eventful existence today. During this period of fifty years, the College has made history by Indianising the top-ranks of the Army and rendering yeoman's service to our country by producing worthy officers and able leaders.

Truly national in character, the College draws cadets from all parts of the country—from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and thus represents 'Unity in diversity' which is the hall-mark of our national life. You belong to different parts of the country, speak different languages, follow different traditions but in this institution you all belong to one family. This example of national integration is worthy of emulation by the country. I am glad to hear the account of the distinguished record of ex-Cadets of this College and hope their glorious examples will inspire you to ever greater heights. You, who are fortunate to receive education here, are expected, in due course of time, to shoulder the tremendous responsibilities that are thrown upon you to protect and defend our country.

It is gratifying to learn that the College has become a nursery for officers and has made significant contribution not only to our defence forces but also to other walks of life and can be justly proud of it.

The Indian Army has always displayed a high sense of discipline, courage, bravery and the spirit of sacrifice. You are well aware of the conspicuous gallantry and splendid heroism that our Army has shown in the recent 14-day war with Pakistan. We are proud of its magnificent role not only in zealously guarding the territorial integrity and honour of our motherland but also in liberating Bangladesh from tyrannical oppression. You, young Cadets, who are embarking on a career in the Armed Forces must learn lessons of valour, sense of duty and sacrifice from their heroic examples.

Remember, that the progress and prosperity of a nation depends, to a great extent, on its youth. It is therefore, essential that the character of young men should be so shaped and moulded that they develop a well-integrated personality and acquire basic values of life such as adherence to truth, justice and uprightness in thoughts and deeds. They must be enabled to cultivate in them discipline, devotion to duty, selfless service, the spirit of sacrifice and a synoptic vision of life. In view of the rapidly changing circumstances of today, it behoves every-

one of us to equip himself with courage and capability to weather all storms and steer the nation clear through innumerable tasks that lie ahead of us. I am happy to observe that sound foundations for building character are laid at this College.

Our ancient scriptures tell us that the earth belongs to the brave and strong and not the idle and the weak. In this highly competitive world, each one of us must be strong and must lead a life of discipline, self-control and duty. You must be strong—strong in body, mind and spirit, to play a vital role in shaping the destiny of our nation. If you want to be true servants of your country and humanity you should think that you are Indian first, Indian last and Indian always. We should remove lock, stock and barrel communalism, parochialism, regionalism and casteism if we desire to make our country great among the comity of nations.

Young Cadets, this is the most formative and profitable period of your life and you must direct all your efforts to grow into self-reliant and worthy soldiers of the country and thus fulfil the hopes that we have built upon you. You must live upto your College motto—*Bal, Vivek*—that is, you must cultivate in yourselves strength and wisdom to fight the battle of life. Work hard, preserve the best traditions of our Armed Forces, make our country stronger and guard her honour in war and peace. I wish you all success in life.

Wings for Defence

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be here today on the 39th Anniversary of the Indian Air Force.

You have added yet another year to your glorious history. The last twelve months have been even more momentous for the Air Force than any other period in the past, for you have not only again risen in defence of the country but have, in large measure contributed to the establishment of a free and independent country. In so doing, you have dealt a heavy blow against the forces of despotism and repression. Though you constitute the youngest arm of the Forces, you have again won the praise and respect of the entire Nation. By your discipline

and efficiency you have proved yourself worthy of the trust reposed in you as the guardians of the Indian skies.

The speed and precision with which the Air Force struck our enemy during the conflict in December last year speaks not only of the skill and efficiency of the aircrews, but also of the dedication and proficiency of those on the ground whose task it was to keep the aircraft flying, and to the zeal and leadership of those in command.

So long as there are people who look upon us with jealous or unfriendly eyes, so long as there are nations which do not understand our search for peace and prosperity with honour, there will be those who will try to bend us to their wishes, even with the use of armed might. It is imperative that we must remain ever vigilant and alert.

On this anniversary, I share your joy, but my thoughts are also with those who are not with us today. I remember with gratitude those who have laid down their lives in the defence of our motherland. I remember those who are still held prisoner by the enemy. I remember the widows and children for whom the war has been a very personal tragedy. Their sacrifices have not been in vain. Their memory will remain ever fresh in the mind of the nation. They and you who are here today to celebrate this 39th anniversary have added another glorious chapter to the history of the Indian Air Force.

May you all go on from strength to strength and may you be victorious in all your endeavours.

Bouquet for the BSF

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you today and participate in the annual passing-out parade.

It gladdens me considerably to think that the Border Security Force which came into existence seven years ago, has grown in strength and stature in this short period. The BSF has come out with flying colours in the recent conflict with Pakistan. As the first line of our defence, they had to bear the immediate brunt of the enemy onslaught. The BSF also played an important and vital role in looking after the millions of refugees from Bangladesh. When the first shock of the influx of refugees came upon this country, they not only provided shelter and help to the terror-stricken refugees, but stood as the

Speech at the Annual Passing out Parade of the Border Security Force, Tekanpur, April 5, 1972

sentinels of the borders, and continued to carry on their primary responsibility of maintaining the security of our international borders.

Even as the Pakistani forces built up the tempo of their activities across the border by intruding, shelling and trying to violate the integrity of our country, the BSF stood undaunted on the borders matching their response to the severity of the intrusion or attack. And when finally the Pakistani forces attacked India on December 3, 1971, and the Indian Armed Forces had to fight the enemy on all the fronts, the Units of the Border Security Force in the West as well as in the East fought magnificently shoulder to shoulder with the jawans of the Army in the defence of the nation and for the liberation of Bangladesh.

The role of the BSF won unstinted admiration of the entire nation. The BSF forged great camaraderie not only with the Indian Army, side by side with whom they fought the war of liberation, but also with the brave and dedicated band of freedom fighters from Bangladesh, thus exhibiting a high sense of patriotism, dedication to a noble cause and a spirit of selfless service.

All this performance of the BSF has been the result of patient, dedicated, selfless and very often unobtrusive work done by the BSF Academy and the sister institutions where these gallant boys were trained. The standard of training in the BSF has won appreciation from those who are conversant with the requirements of paramilitary forces.

At this moment, our heart goes out to the families of those who laid down their lives in the cause of the nation. I extend my heartfelt sympathies to those families who have the pride of having made the supreme sacrifice. My heart also goes out to those persons who have been seriously injured and incapacitated and to the members of their families. We have assured them, as we have done for the members of the Armed Forces, that their sacrifices will not have been in vain and that their needs will not under any circumstances be forgotten. I am glad, from all accounts that I have heard, that the BSF has taken special steps for the rehabilitation of those who have been injured and for taking care of the families of those who have died during the war. They are a primary responsibility on this nation and on your Force. We owe so much to them.

I am glad to know that the BSF is now undertaking a comprehensive review of its performance and arrangements, in the light of the facts brought out during the recent war. I am sure that the good points will be taken note of and further improvement wherever possible made, and the shortcomings will be quickly remedied. I am aware that the BSF is yet to have all the necessary wherewithal to discharge

its duties effectively. Improvisation and innovation for a developing country are very important requirements. I congratulate you on the high degree of improvisation you have achieved not only in the field of weaponry but also in the field of electronics, engineering etc. You should be all the time alert, with eyes and ears open to new ideas, concepts and innovations. Only a modern and scientifically oriented Force can survive in these days of rapid technological developments.

You have displayed a high standard of training, discipline and leadership. The Nation is grateful to you and has full confidence in your ability to carry out the tasks allotted to you. You, the young officers passing out today, have a special responsibility in moulding the force correctly. By hard work and personal example you must instil courage, discipline and comradeship in your men. You are fortunate to command a very fine and gallant body of war-tested men who are loyal, honest, sincere and are imbued with a sense of patriotism and dedication to the country. I have every hope and confidence that you will prove equal to the trust which the Nation has reposed in you.

Resettlement of Ex-Servicemen

I AM EXTREMELY happy and delighted to visit a second time the Ex-Servicemen's Land Colony at Afzalgarh. This colony is the biggest agricultural settlement in India organised conjointly by the Ministry of Defence, the Uttar Pradesh Government and the State Post-War Services Reconstruction Fund Committee, with the triple objectives of reclamation of large blocks of cultivable waste lands, increase in food production in the country, and permanent rehabilitation of 1000 Ex-Servicemen and their families.

It is, indeed, a remarkable feat of land transformation and rural reconstruction for which Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, the then Deputy Defence Minister, Shri Bhakt Darshan, former Minister for Education, Lt. Col. K. S. Babu, former Resettlement Officer, successive Collectors, Executive Engineers of the Irrigation and Public Works Departments as well as the bold and enterprising Ex-Servicemen settlers deserve great praise. The colony has made appreciable progress during the course of a decade and a half.

Today is a pleasant occasion. I had the privilege of laying the

Speech at the Afzalgarh Land Colony, Afzalgarh, April 16, 1972

foundation-stone of the Bhikkuwala Pump Canal and the Intermediate Wing of the B.S.A.I. College as well as of opening the Science Laboratory block in the same institution. I visited 6 villages, saw the extensive fields with standing crops and also met the ex-Servicemen who, once valiant Jawans, are now turned full-fledged Kisans, helping the nation in increasing the food production. I am immensely impressed with the large size of the colony, elegant community institutions and settlers' quarters, network of canals, all nestled in the picturesque surroundings. I am also pleased to see the newly constructed Science Block which has a grand appearance.

Though the Colony has made appreciable progress, it has to be further developed to become a Gandhian type of village Republic, self-sufficient, and self-reliant in all aspects of rural life and economy. Under this programme, 'every village should become independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependency is a necessity'. I am confident this ideal structure can be accomplished if all concerned co-operate and evolve an integrated plan.

The Afzalgarh Colony is exclusively an Ex-Servicemen's settlement organised for the purpose of rehabilitating them and also their families in reward for the loyal services rendered by them to the Nation. This special feature must be retained for ever and adequate safeguards have to be provided against the literal operation of the land reforms. Otherwise, lured by the high prices the Ex-Servicemen may be tempted to sell away the land to outsiders, with the result that in a few years, it will cease to be Ex-Servicemen's Colony, and all the trouble taken and money spent from the welfare funds will go to sheer waste. In case there are legal difficulties in denying the right of sale, which is conferred by Bhumidari status, provision could be made imposing a restriction that the land should be sold only to other Ex-Servicemen who possess the requisite qualifications and are approved by competent authority. Tenders may be invited in such cases from prospective purchasers, so as to secure fair price to the original owner. This method, while giving the settlers the right of sale, will prevent land falling into the hands of persons other than Ex-Servicemen.

I am glad the Ex-Servicemen are bestowing special importance on the education of their children and are constructing a good building for the college. In this connection, it pleases me to learn that the settlers have donated so far Rs. 60,270 as a Self-Help measure. Such contribution appeals to the public and evokes public co-operation and response. I have recommended to the Governor of Uttar Pradesh to give a matching grant of Rs. 50,000 from the Post-war Services Reconstruction Fund. I commend the generosity of the Ram Ganga

Paryojana Mazdoor Sangh in donating Rs. 10,000 for the construction of a room in the college in the name of the workers who died whilst constructing the dam. Their munificence is praiseworthy indeed.

Second Line of Defence

IT IS A great pleasure for me to be present at the Citizens' Reception to the Territorial Army. I offer my heartiest congratulations on the achievements of this Citizens Army during the last 23 years of its eventful existence. By their valour and resourcefulness, the personnel of the Army have achieved many high distinctions. A grateful nation will always remember their services during the times of emergency when our country was exposed to danger from without. During the last conflict in 1971, the units of the Territorial Army fought along with the regular Army even in forward areas, and won many laurels.

The Territorial Army is our second line of defence and it is our patriotic duty to strengthen it in every possible way. Every able-bodied citizen must have military training so that in times of war, he could play a worthy role in the defence of the country. On this occasion, I would like to call upon big industrial and commercial undertakings, both in the public and private sectors, to insist on their employees joining the Territorial Army. I am positive that the training in the Territorial Army will improve the health and efficiency of the employees and also provide the country with trained man-power to defend it in times of danger.

I would urge upon the units of the Territorial Army, to be eternally vigilant and master the intricacies of modern warfare. Defence is increasingly becoming a matter of science and technology and long and arduous training is required to attain proficiency in the use of various arms. I hope your constant endeavour will be to improve upon the excellent record you have already set up.

The Territorial Army like our regular Armed Forces has set a noble example of national integration. You belong to different parts of the country, speak different languages, follow different traditions but in the Territorial Army you all belong to one family. This spirit of

solidarity is worthy of emulation by the country. Our emphasis should always be on the things that unite us rather than on our diversities. We must be Indians first, Indians last and Indians always.

You of the Territorial Army may be justifiably proud of your achievements in the past and I am sure they will spur you to greater efforts in the years to come. I wish you all success.

Guards—with Flying Colours

I AM VERY glad to be with you today and be associated with this colourful, solemn and inspiring ceremony. I have felt a great pleasure in presenting you with the Colours. Though your Brigade was raised only in 1949, it brought into its fold the four oldest battalions of the famous Regiments of Punjab Grenadiers, Rajputana Rifles and Rajputs.

Since then 10 more battalions have been added including a missile battalion. Yours is the only Infantry Regiment where recruitment is made from all classes from all over the country, which is a great step forward towards national integration. The Guards by their brave deeds, acts of valour and high sense of duty, lit a path of courage, honour and devotion to duty. I am confident the Guards will march from strength to strength under its new colours.

The history of your Brigade, which comprises brave Guardsmen from all parts of the country and religions is replete with acts of heroism, gallantry and devotion to duty of which everyone could be rightly proud. Your battalions have served with distinction during J & K Operations in Jammu and Kashmir in 1947-48, liberation of Goa 1961, NEFA 1962, Ladakh and Western Front 1965 and on all fronts in 1971 India-Pakistan conflict. During this last operation your late L/Nk Albert Ekka won the highest gallantry award, *Param Vir Chakra* and 67 other brave Guardsmen won other gallantry awards.

The contingents of the Guards acquitted themselves equally well in their foreign assignments in Indo-China and Gaza and brought credit not only to the Guards but also to the entire Armed Forces and the nation. At home, you have rendered valuable service in maintenance of law and order, whenever you were called upon to

Speech on the occasion of presentation of colours to Brigade of the Guards, Kota, March 16, 1973

do so by the civil authorities, particularly in Nagaland and Mizo-Hills. Thus in war and peace your record is second to none, justifying your motto "*Pahla Hamesha Pahla*". As your Colonel-in-Chief, I am very proud of your achievements.

I would like to say on this occasion how proud we are of our Army. You belong to different parts of the country, speak different languages, follow different traditions but in the Armed Forces you are one family. You feel that you are Indians always. This example of national integration is worthy of emulation by everyone in the country. In a world constantly afflicted with troubles and turmoils, we have to be constantly vigilant. Patriotism, efficiency and service should be our watchword. I have no doubt that our armed forces will meet any challenge that they may be called upon to face.

I am sure that the Colours which you have received today will inspire you to attain greater glory to yourselves and the country. I am confident that you will not consider any sacrifice too great to uphold the honour of these Colours.

I congratulate you all on your excellent turnout, bearing and steadfastness on Parade. I wish you all well.

Sappers—in the Service of Army and Country

THE MILITARY ENGINEERS have a very glorious past and they can justly look back on their achievements with pride. Engineers form the back-bone of the country and they have to face tremendous challenges. The task of the Military Engineers is much more difficult and complex because of the very nature of their role.

The basic role of the Military Engineers commonly referred to as the 'Sappers' is to enhance the mobility of the Army formations and at the same time deny such mobility to the enemy. They have to really live up to their Motto '*Sarvatra*' and make their presence felt everywhere. In peace, their main role is to train for the defence of the country besides provision of communications in border areas and accommodation and allied facilities to the Armed Forces in Cantonments. The Corps of Engineers has always stood up to the numer-

ous challenges both during war and peace. The fact that the Armed Forces have been moved by the Engineers on all occasions and across both natural and artificial obstacles in difficult terrain and treacherous weather bears testimony to their herculean effort. The speed and efficiency with which the crossings over the numerous obstacles were provided by the Sappers during the operations was mainly responsible for the early liberation of Bangla Desh. Subsequent rehabilitation work there is another glorious chapter in the history of the Sappers.

In the past the nation faced many formidable challenges. To overcome these, on numerous occasions, we called on our Corps of Engineers and our call was duly answered by them with ability and confidence. The construction of border roads in the most inaccessible and inhospitable terrains of Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh and Bhutan was a significant and signal achievement in fulfilling the long term communication needs of our country and in the assimilation of the people of these remote areas into the mainstream of our national life.

During the frequent floods that ravage our country, we have always relied on the Corps of Engineers to come to the aid of civil power and combat and contain such disasters. May it be a crack in the hydraulic structures of the Bhakra Dam or a flood, a severe drought requiring emergency digging of tube wells or maintaining road communications in all types of weather—we have always relied on our military engineers to undertake such tasks and they have always performed these creditably.

The Military Engineers play a very prominent role in the economic growth of the country. The vast network of roads built by them in the difficult and inaccessible areas have opened up even the most remote areas of the country. They have undertaken gigantic housing schemes and even micro-hydel projects all over the country. Military Engineers contribute to the industrial growth of the country by designing and developing new equipment. Last but not the least they provide employment to a very large number of our countrymen.

The pace of growth of knowledge especially in technological fields is very fast. The Military Engineers have, therefore, taken a right step in founding a professional institution of their own for the dissemination of this knowledge. The rich experience and knowledge gained by your members must be shared by others in similar disciplines so as to enhance their competence and ability. The growth and achievements of your professional body is an inspiration to others in their fields.

As a citizen of India and also as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, I am proud of your past achievements and have no doubt that you will always prove yourself worthy of the trust placed

in you by the nation. I wish the Institution of Military Engineers and all its members every success and I am certain that you will grow from strength to strength in all your technical endeavours.

Heir to a Glorious Heritage

ON THIS HISTORIC occasion of your Bi-centenary, it is with pleasure that I greet you, the members of my Bodyguard.

As befitting the seniormost Unit of the Indian Army, I congratulate you on your turn-out, smartness and soldierly bearing. The standard of drill displayed by you, both in respect of men and horses, I commend. Being the only Unit in the world fully trained as horsemen, as paratroopers and as tankmen, it is a privilege for me as your President to have such a fine body of men as my personal bodyguard.

In the field of human endeavour, military tradition has inspired men through the ages and spurred them to deeds of daring and self-sacrifice for their country, their regiments, their people and their comrades. You are heirs to, and the custodians of, a rich and glorious heritage. Cherish it, guard it and nurture it for posterity.

It is with pride that I see you drawn up before me, resplendent in your bearing. To you then, I present with pleasure, this Silver Trumpet and Trumpet Banner. May its clarion call spur to greater achievements, for you will be invincible, when guided by the immortal words "*Yato Dharmah Tato Jayah*".

Aircraft Manufacture Forges Ahead

I AM INDEED very happy to be in your midst today to share your joy at the opening of the Helicopter Division in its new premises. H.A.L. has grown to its present stature from its humble beginning in 1940. I have been intimately associated with this major industrial

Speech on the occasion of bicentenary celebrations of the President's Bodyguard, New Delhi, September 30, 1973

Speech at the inauguration of the New Helicopters Factory, Bangalore, July 19, 1974

venture as Minister for Labour in the Central Government and then as Governor of Mysore. I have watched its growth with great deal of satisfaction. That it now reckons as a major aircraft manufacturing concern is a matter of no little pride to all of us.

We are committed to a philosophy whereby the industry, specially industry in the public sector, should serve as an instrument of national policy to achieve self-sufficiency and self-reliance in design, development, and production of modern and sophisticated equipment. This includes aircraft, aero-engines and other aeronautical instruments and accessories to meet the country's growing, changing and challenging demands.

It gives me much satisfaction to know that Hindustan Aeronautics Limited has developed during the last over 33 years a measure of skill and technological capability to build modern sophisticated aircraft and equipment. It is no doubt an achievement of which every one of us should be proud. I was particularly gratified to learn that H.A.L. has now a product-mix of as many as eight types of aircraft and helicopters ranging from agricultural aircraft to fighter and trainer aircraft and medium transport aircraft and two varieties of helicopters. The indigenous content of these aircraft has reached 60-70 per cent in the case of many aircraft and is steadily rising. Government have plans for the manufacture of raw materials for these aircraft. Likewise, the new Division of H.A.L. at Lucknow has just commenced manufacture of the accessories which account for a substantial part of the cost. As soon as these facilities start production in full swing, the indigenous content would rise steeply.

The progress that has been achieved in the field of aeronautical industry is not a matter of chance. It has been shaped by the quality of our thinking. The future calls for unflagging energy, hard work, high degree of patience and tact, honesty of purpose, sense of justice and fair-play and burning patriotism for constantly striving for improving and increasing indigenous materials and equipment, whether for defence or for other economic needs. Unless this spirit is motivated throughout the industry, we will not be able to reap the fruits of technological progress and advancement. In every action of ours, we should always keep the welfare of the State, the welfare of the Institution and the welfare of the individuals at heart.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Helicopter Factory and I wish it all success.

Homages and Tributes

Bhai Vir Singh

IT IS A great pleasure for me to be here today and inaugurate the Centenary Celebrations of Bhai Vir Singh and also lay the foundation-stone of the memorial building. I am grateful to the organisers of the function for affording me an opportunity to pay my tribute to this great saint of Punjab.

Hailing from an illustrious family of great writers and intellectuals, Bhai Vir Singh had a spiritual bent of mind. From very early years he carved a niche for himself by the might of his pen. He placed all his talents unreservedly at the service of the people. With his devotion to service and deep insight into the human mind, Bhai Vir Singh produced many literary works of great merit. He was not only a prolific writer but an educationist and a social reformer also. A great humanitarian, he established many institutions for looking after the blind and handicapped, aged and infirm people. His services for the uplift of the untouchables and down-trodden sections of society will always be remembered. In spite of his many-sided achievements he remained humble. The way he lived exemplified the teachings of Guru Nanak "Oh Nanak, remain a small one, as small as grass, other plants will wither away but grass will remain ever green". Following the footsteps of his greater master, Guru Nanak, Bhai Vir Singh emphasised that the best way of self-realisation and the transformation of one's soul was through love and tolerance. He stressed that the external forms and man-made distinctions and artificial barriers in the name of caste and religion should go. His life and work will ever remain an inspiration for our youth.

Bhai Vir Singh died full of years and full of honours. He has left us a great legacy and I wish all success to the endeavours to spread his message.

Govind Ballabh Pant

I AM INDEED thankful to the President and members of the Govind Ballabh Pant Memorial Society for inviting me to deliver the inaugural lecture in the Govind Ballabh Pant Memorial Lecture Series. I am happy for more reasons than one. Firstly, Pantji's contribution to the evolution of parliamentary democracy in India is most significant and he helped to build up sound parliamentary traditions. Secondly, this provides me an opportunity to pay my tributes to one whom I consider as my leader and whose guidance I valued both in politics and administration. I also feel a proper analysis is yet to be made of Pandit Pant's role in India's political life. We were too close to Pantji to appreciate fully the impact of many of the far-reaching reforms that he contemplated and sought to bring about.

It had been my privilege to have enjoyed Pantji's close association from the twenties when he and my respected father were colleagues and active members of the Swaraj Party. The outstanding impression I have of him is his nobility of mind and sweetness of temper. I always sought his guidance and advice whenever I had to deal with any important question affecting my future. Before we examine the vital contribution made by Pantji to India's political and constitutional evolution, I would like to pay my deep debt of gratitude to this great son of India for his unfailing sympathy and support to me on many crucial occasions in my life.

I vividly remember that on one occasion when the Central Legislative Assembly was discussing the question of retrenchment of personnel in the Railways, I, as a labour leader voicing the cause of the All India Railwaymen's Federation, could not agree with the stand taken by the Party which believed that maximum economy must be enforced and retrenchment must be effected. When this question was debated, the Railway Board and the Treasury Benches were somewhat curious to know what my attitude would be, and whether I would vote for the Congress and against my conscience. I had a difficult choice to make between the dictates of my conscience and the Party Whip. But before the subject came up for discussion, I had sent in a letter to the Secretary of the Legislature Party, Shri Satyamurti, stating that I could not support the stand of the Party, and as a disciplined soldier of the Congress I had no alternative but to resign my membership of the Central Assembly. When the

subject came up for discussion and at the time of voting, Pantji told me that I could leave the House and need not vote. The result of the voting was that the Congress won by a margin of one vote. Some members were critical of what I did, but Pantji immediately issued a statement that the Party greatly admired my stand and in case of conscientious objection they would rather allow me to stand aloof from voting than do something which would be against my very grain.

I recall another occasion in 1954, when I was overwhelmed by Pantji's abiding love and affection for me. I had resigned from the Central Cabinet over the Bank Award and Pantji came down to Delhi at the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru all the way from Lucknow to persuade me to withdraw my resignation. I recalled to him the earlier incident and he fully appreciated my views and allowed me to abide by what I held to be sacred in life. I am only mentioning this to show that he rose above personal and party considerations and could fully understand and appreciate the viewpoint of others. He was a born democrat and a man of great moral stature.

Pantji was one of the foremost leaders this country has known in its political evolution. He was a man of vision, with a sense of purpose. An early freedom fighter, with an uncompromising faith in the ultimate goal of complete independence for India, he was willing to follow the path of constructive action. As a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, to which he had been elected in 1934, and, later, as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, when the Congress accepted office in the provinces in 1937, under the Government of India Act of 1935, he came to be looked upon even by the British as one who believed firmly in constitutional methods and who held an abiding faith in the parliamentary system. As Deputy Leader of the Congress Party functioning in Opposition in the Central Assembly, he had already made a mark as a parliamentarian *par excellence*. Suave, but vigorous, he put the Treasury Benches often at their wit's end in debate by his well-informed and positive criticism. On economic matters he was an acknowledged authority, and he marshalled and sifted his facts carefully before presenting them. Sir Henry Craik and Sir James Grigg, the Home and Finance Members at that time, showed Pandit Pant utmost respect, because they found in him more than a match for them.

Pandit Pant's contribution to the making of independent India's Constitution is perhaps not widely known. As member of two important committees constituted by the Constituent Assembly to

report on the principles of the Union Constitution and on the distribution of legislative powers, his contribution was impressive. In a moving speech in the Constituent Assembly, for the setting up of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities Rights—of which Committee also he became an important member—he emphasised that fundamental rights were the concern of all, and no question of minority or majority could arise in connection with those rights. Pleading for a proper appreciation of the importance of the fundamental rights on which depended “the progress of humanity”, he warned against “the unwholesome and to some extent a degrading habit of thinking always in terms of communities and never in terms of citizens”. It was, after all, he pointed out, the citizens that formed communities and it was the welfare and happiness of the individual citizen which was the object of every sound administrator and statesman. It was the citizen that formed “the base as well as the summit of the social pyramid and his importance, his dignity and his sanctity, should always be remembered”. He was equally conscious that in large measures of social reform, it was the welfare of the entire State and the entire community that had to be borne in mind, and he laid special emphasis on this in dealing with the right to property. With his first-hand knowledge of the functioning of the *zamindari* system in Uttar Pradesh, he was aware how the landed gentry exploited the actual tiller of the soil for their own personal benefit.

Pandit Pant was a vigorous advocate of full autonomy for the States within the spheres allotted to them under the Constitution; he was at the same time also of the definite view that there should be a strong federal Centre capable of maintaining unimpaired the unity and integrity of the country. Realising that the States would have the primary responsibility of providing social services, in the widest possible measure, he ably put forward their case for sufficient resources to be generated through powers vested in them. On basic issues concerning the State powers he would not admit of any compromise. To a suggestion that health and education should be put in the Concurrent List, he was outspoken in his criticism. If the object was to have a federation and the concept of “provincial autonomy” was to have any validity, he pointed out, the States must have exclusive control over certain subjects and at least over such “elementary matters” as health and education which affected the every-day life of citizens. He warned that including everything in the Concurrent List would not only increase occasions for friction between the Union and that States—especially, if as was quite likely in the future,

the State Governments were not of the same political complexion as the Government at the Centre—but would also greatly impair the sense of responsibility of the State administration.

Pantji's Chief Ministership of Uttar Pradesh after independence saw a period of good administration in that difficult State with its large backward areas. The task of reconstruction was colossal and he had laid firm foundations.

As Home Minister at the Centre, it devolved on him to effect the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis in 1956. As a practical man and as a realist, he had foreseen that this reorganisation might in the initial stages, at any rate, lead to frictions of certain types among the States. He, therefore, attached special importance to the provision in the States Reorganisation Act for the setting up of Zonal Councils. These Councils were to discuss matters of common interest in the fields of economic and social planning, any matter concerning border disputes, linguistic minorities or inter-State transport, etc. Pandit Pant himself used to preside over these council meetings and direct his efforts towards bringing about greater understanding among the States and a common approach to problems that came up before them.

The mission of India is essentially bound up with the welfare of the vast millions that inhabit this great country. To be an active participant in this mission is an opportunity given to everyone of us. For those in authority, it is a duty cast on them. Govind Ballabh Pant dedicated his life to the service of his people. To him, there was no rest from work. In whatever capacity he functioned, whether as a soldier in India's march of freedom, or in the legislature, or in government, his sole objective was the good of India and the well-being of her people. Leaders like Pandit Pant have shown the way of positive thinking and constructive action.

T. Chowdiah

IT IS A GREAT pleasure for me to lay the foundation-stone of the Chowdiah Memorial Hall of the Academy of Music. This hall has been most appropriately named after the late Shri Chowdiah who

Speech at laying the foundation-stone of Chowdiah Memorial Hall, Bangalore,
June 15, 1972

shed lustre on the carnatic music world for nearly five decades. I had on many occasions had the pleasure of listening to his soulful violin performances. To know him is to love him and admire him. He was a dedicated artist deeply devoted to music. He rose to fame by his matchless sadhana and his genius for innovation. He was a creative artist with the courage of his convictions.

The seven-stringed violin that he created was a daring innovation. The trials and tribulations he had to undergo before he could perfect this instrument was indeed a saga of courage and devotion. Only a man of robust health and dauntless spirit could have persevered in the midst of hostile criticism and perfected a musical instrument which was later on accepted as a masterpiece by renowned musicians. He was a linguist and was very well versed in Sanskrit and had a good knowledge of Hindustani music also. It was this back-ground and his painstaking effort till the very last day of his life that helped him to attain a unique position in the world of carnatic music. I am sure the memory of this illustrious son of Mysore will inspire generations of musicians to come.

I congratulate the Academy of Music on the success of its endeavours to preserve and popularise carnatic music. I hope this new building for which I have the privilege of laying the foundation-stone will soon be an accomplished fact and help the Academy in expanding its activities. Today non-official organisations like the music academy have a vital role to play in fostering music. The days of patronage of fine arts by Maharajas and Nawabs are over.

Our ancients thought of the world as *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*—the whole world is one family. We can realise this ideal through the world of music. True purpose of art is not only to entertain but to instruct and elevate the mind. I am sure this hall which you have named after that great creative artist, Shri Chowdiah, will help you in your onward march.

Sri Aurobindo

IT IS NOT a mere coincidence that the twenty-fifth anniversary of Indian Independence and the Birth Centenary of Sri Aurobindo are being celebrated simultaneously. India throughout the ages has attached primacy to spiritual values. This great cultural heritage has been kept alive as a living tradition by an unbroken line of seers and saints. Sri Aurobindo was a many-sided personality. He was a poet, patriot and a saint. By honouring Sri Aurobindo we honour a great Indian tradition. He is rightly looked upon as one of the builders of modern India.

Sri Aurobindo was born in Bengal, but he belonged to the whole of India, nay to the entire humanity. In him the east and the west, the north and the south forgot their differences. His gurus were Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda, Tilak and Lele Shastri. His co-workers and disciples included persons from all parts of India : Subramanya Bharati and S. V. V. Iyer, Sir Akbar Hydari and K. M. Munshi. In the words of Romain Rolland he was "the completest synthesis that has been realized to this day of the genius of Asia and the genius of Europe". Sri Jawaharlal Nehru hailed Sri Aurobindo as "one of the greatest minds of his age".

Sri Aurobindo was a contemporary of Gandhi, the idol of Rabindranath Tagore and Chittaranjan Das, a colleague of Baptista and Lajpat Rai. He was one of those illustrious sons of India who moulded the destiny of this nation at a crucial time in its history. The contribution he made to the development of modern Indian political thought will always be remembered by a grateful nation. He was a Prophet of Indian Renaissance but his concept of nationalism eschewed the narrow urges of chauvinism and revivalism.

It was in the fitness of things that the Sahitya Akademi, the premier National Academy of Letters, organised four regional seminars on this occasion to discuss Sri Aurobindo's influence on Indian literatures, followed by the National Seminar which will be in session from this afternoon. The best tribute to a poet and thinker of his eminence is to discuss his contribution to various aspects of contemporary Indian thought and philosophy. Sri Aurobindo's work has inspired many learned men and women, who have gathered here.

In this Seminar Sri Aurobindo's "Vision of India" will be discussed in its different aspects. Sri Aurobindo had realised the importance of integrating all aspects of human life. He was never one-sided and

Speech while inaugurating the National Seminar on Sri Aurobindo's 'Vision of India', New Delhi, August 16, 1972

never stressed only on one-aspect of life at the cost of others. He knew several languages. Bengali was his mother-tongue. He also learnt Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Gujarati. But English was the language he voluntarily chose for his expression. In the Book Exhibition you will see the translations of his works in various languages as well as a set of his original complete works. Such a prolific and untiring writer, Sri Aurobindo stimulates his readers with new thoughts. The world has still much to learn from his philosophy, which is rightly meant for the Future Man. We are rightly proud of his being an Indian and having had this opportunity of living in such exciting times, when many of his prophecies are coming out to be true.

T. Prakasam

WE HAVE GATHERED here today, to pay our homage to one of the greatest sons of India, Tanguturi Prakasam Garu, who was born on this day one hundred years ago.

Prakasam was cast in a heroic mould and by the sheer power of his personality, personal heroism and political acumen he dominated the political scene in Andhra Pradesh and India for nearly four decades. When thinking of this great man one outstanding event in his life comes vividly before one's mind. No patriotic Indian could ever forget that stirring incident that took place in Madras City on the occasion of the Simon Commission's visit in 1928. The brave satyagrahi that he was, Prakasam bared his chest and marched in front of the firing line in open defiance of an alien imperialism. In the annals of our freedom movement, Prakasam's role as a patriot and freedom-fighter will be written in letters of gold.

What was the secret of Prakasam's undoubted hold on the people? He was a leader who had his roots, in the soil and in the people. By his services and sacrifice and complete identification with the people he became a visible symbol of their hopes and aspirations. He was never away from them and drew his inspiration and sustenance from them. He sacrificed his all for their sake and in return the people gave him their unbounded love and allegiance. They affectionately bestowed on him the title "Andhra Kesari." Recently Ongole where

Speech while inaugurating the birth centenary celebrations of T. Prakasam, Hyderabad, August 23, 1972

he hailed from has been renamed Prakasam District. I am glad to know of the good work done by the Centenary Committee. I hope before they complete their labours in a year's time, many memorials worthy of this great patriot will be set up in Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the Country.

Andhra Kesari was a man of action and all his life he fought for the country's freedom. When freedom was won, he whole-heartedly participated in the endeavour to consolidate that freedom by fighting for the economic emancipation of our masses. Today we who call ourselves his followers, have to complete that unfinished task. The example of leaders like Prakasam will serve as a constant source of inspiration to us and keep on rousing us to purposeful action so that India grows in strength and stature in the comity of nations.

Subhash Chandra Bose

I DEEM IT a great honour to unveil the statue of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. An outstanding leader of men, Netaji will always have an abiding place in the hearts of not only our people but of freedom-loving people everywhere. It is indeed very appropriate to have Netaji's statue at Moirang for it was here that the Indian National Flag was first hoisted after the I.N.A. had liberated Manipur and Nagaland from the clutches of an alien imperialism on April 14, 1944. The clarion call *Jai Hind*, which Netaji gave, reverberated throughout the country. It was not merely an evocative slogan but a clarion call for action. These two words had come to symbolise the indomitable will of the people to liberate the country from foreign yoke and to become a sovereign nation.

I feel proud that I should be associated with this function. As you are all aware, Netaji and I were close associates in the freedom as well as trade union movements. We stood shoulder to shoulder and laboured with the one single thought of making India free and giving her people a better life. I recall to my mind Netaji's spirit of selflessness, patriotism, discipline and dedication. In the many fields of nation-building activities that we were engaged in, I was struck by his extra-ordinary zeal and dedication to the cause of freedom and

Speech at the unveiling of the statue of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Moirang, October 21, 1972

economic salvation of the people. In the '20s, we worked together in the trade union movement organising labour in the mines, the steel industry and the Railways.

Among the galaxy of national leaders who have put India on the World Map, Netaji can legitimately claim a pride of place. He played a pivotal role during a very crucial phase of India's historic march towards national liberation. The emergence of I.N.A. may be reckoned as a significant Landmark in the annals of India's struggle for Independence; and it was indeed a part of the Freedom Movement. Subhash was a man of action and could not brook delays. He felt that action from all directions will help in the Nationalist Movement gathering momentum. The I.N.A. had succeeded in demoralising the British army and this made a salutary impact on the tempo of our freedom fight.

Netaji's life is an inspiring saga of service and sacrifice. He gave us the mantra *Jai Hind*. By sheer force of his patriotism, zeal and character, he welded the demoralised and disunited groups of Indians in South-East Asia into a well-knit fighting force. This achievement was indeed a miracle. Nothing would, therefore, be a more appropriate form of paying our tribute to our beloved leader than forging unbreakable bonds of unity among our people. We must wage a ceaseless war against the fissiparous tendencies, parochial movements, and against the erosion of moral values and lack of self-discipline. Our people will, I fervently hope, rise to the occasion and strive to emulate the illuminating example of Netaji and spread the fragrance of his inspiring ideals and achievements in promoting unity, goodwill, tolerance and mutual understanding.

Seth Govind Das

I OFFER MY heartiest congratulations to Seth Govind Das on his *Amrit Jayanti* and I wish him many many more years of useful life in the service of the Nation. May he complete his century and yet be not out. I have always admired his dedication and patriotism. I have the privilege of being closely associated with him for over four decades. He was a valued colleague of my revered father in the Central Assembly. When I entered Central Assembly in 1934, and

the Parliament in 1952, I had the privilege of enjoying his close friendship. He has been a member of the Central legislature since its inception and has filled the role of doyen of Parliamentarians with great honour and distinction. Though he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth in one of the richest families in India, yet he chose a life of suffering and service in the cause of the Nation. He was never after power or pelf.

Seth Govind Das's devotion to the cause of Hindi is well-known. He championed Hindi with unwavering zeal during his long public career. His own contribution to Hindi literature has been of a very high order. There could be no better way of celebrating the happy occasion of his 75th birthday than by releasing the seven Hindi volumes brought out by Sahitya Samaroh. I understand, these books relate to different fields of Hindi literature and the authors and the editors have tried to critically evaluate the present trends in the field of Hindi novel, drama and poetry. I hope these books which I have the honour to release today will make a significant impact on the world of Hindi letters.

Seth Govind Das has been the guiding spirit of the Sahitya Samaroh and under his dynamic leadership the organisation had made remarkable progress in the short span of four years. I wish it greater success in the years to come.

Once again, I congratulate the Sahitya Samaroh for its laudable efforts and wish it continued success in the future. I thank Seth Govind Das for giving me an opportunity to be with all of you today.

C. Rajagopalachari

I CONSIDER IT a great privilege to be here to lay the foundation stone of the Memorial which the Tamil Nadu Government is erecting to pay our humble homage to respected Rajaji. Rajaji who made a significant contribution to the political, cultural and literary life of our country, commanded the love, affection and admiration of the people not only in the country of his birth, but also in the countries outside in the wide world, as was evidenced from the hundreds of messages received on his demise.

Speech on laying the foundation-stone of the memorial to Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Madras, February 15, 1973

It was more than five decades ago that I first met Rajaji returning from one of the Congress Sessions. Even at that time Rajaji was known to be one of the recognized leaders from the South in the freedom movement. With his clarity of mind and perception and with a penchant for original thought, he played a crucial role in many historic sessions of the Congress and left an indelible imprint in providing solutions to many complex issues. In the political history of India, his life and work form a glorious chapter and will continue to inspire generations to come.

Politics was only one of the many facets of Rajaji's life. He had the courage of conviction to uphold causes, however unpopular they might be, and fought for them vigorously. He was indeed a real leader of men. As a doughty champion of many a cause, some of them even unpopular, he was fearless and never cared for what others felt. Approbation never elated him, not did disapproval or dissent depress him. To him, to follow the lights as he considered them truthful and proper was far more important than the encomiums of the multitude. While one may differ with Rajaji, one could never question his *bona fides*, for he symbolised sincerity in all its transparency. Rajaji was not a mere individual but an institution and with his demise an era has, indeed, come to an end. He has been variously described as world statesman, scholar, politician, philosopher, man of letters, freedom fighter, champion of individual and civil liberties, parliamentarian and administrator, who left an indelible mark on the country's history. His was a life of unequalled brilliance, unswerving patriotism, unquestioned integrity, moral strength and courage.

Steeped in our Vedantic traditions, Rajaji was equally at home in the philosophy of the West. With a facile pen he could analyse complex issues in a simple and allegorical manner. Till a few days before his demise, he kept alert contributing his views to the benefit of the nation. Whether he interpreted the Ramayana, the Mahabharata or the Upanishads, or whether we wrote short stories for children, his writings endeared people of all walks of life to him and drew from them a paternal love. Truly was he described by many as a *Rajarishi*. Behind the appearance of a strong and sometimes unchanging attitude, Rajaji had a heart of gold. He never swerved from the path of uprightness. I must mention here the self-effecting sacrifice and attention of his daughter, Namagiri, who nursed him like a child.

This Memorial is only symbolic of our homage to a great son of India. The best memorial we can erect for him is in our hearts. What should be our prime concern is to rededicate ourselves to the values he cherished most—of human freedom and integrity in personal and public life. Then alone can we consider ourselves as worthy inheritors of what he lived and died for.

Welthy Fisher

WHILE I WAS Governor of Uttar Pradesh, I have had many occasions to see the great work done by Mrs. Welthy Fisher. The Literary House that she had built in Lucknow has become a world-famous institution. During the last two decades, this institution has become a source of enlightenment for millions of people, exemplifying what the late Gurudev Tagore used to say "a teacher should be a lighted lamp which can light many lamps".

I am glad to know that ten thousand Indians have been trained so far by the Literary House in literacy techniques. They have taught about 2 million new literates. The Institute's fame has spread throughout the world and contingents of teacher-trainees from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Nepal, Burma, Sarawak, the Philippines, Uganda and Mali have come to Lucknow for being retrained by Mrs. Fisher's staff. Thanks to the dedicated endeavours of Mrs. Fisher and her staff, the chain of literacy centres all over the globe has been lengthening with every passing year. Appropriately enough, Mrs. Fisher has graphically titled her autobiography : *"To Light a Candle"*. She has indeed lighted thousands of candles of literacy which are radiating the light of knowledge and dispelling the darkness of ignorance.

Mrs. Welthy Fisher has evolved the concept of 'Three F' in the place of 'Three R's'. The first F stands for Functional Literacy which means something more than reading skill. It aims at the total development of thought process and the right motivation. The second F stands for food production and other agricultural skills. The third F links literacy to the development of Family Life planning as an educated small and healthy unit. This kind of adult education covers the entire gamut of rural problem and it is a complete accord with my own ideas of economic development.

We are today bidding farewell to a great lady who in every sense of the term is a citizen of the world. Barriers of race, religion and colour have not stood in the way of her serving the people of India with such exemplary devotion and skill. We in India have always believed in the ideal of 'One Family on Earth'. It is people like Mrs. Fisher who build bridges of understanding between different peoples and cultures, that will make 'One World' reality. At 94, Mrs. Fisher is still an young and vibrant personality proving the poetic prophecy, "The best is yet to be". I wish her many more years of service in the cause of humanity.

Speech while presiding over the function in honour of Dr (Mrs) Welthy Fisher.
New Delhi, February 21, 1973

Mahakavi Kumaran Asan

I CONSIDER IT A great privilege to have been asked to unveil this statue of one of the foremost sons of Kerala, Mahakavi Kumaran Asan. He was an eminent writer and a revolutionary who by his fervour and literary craftsmanship transformed the contemporary social scene.

Kumaran Asan, whom we honour today, was born in humble surroundings, and in a community then subjected to a certain social disability, a practice which brought so much ill-fame to us and which we have now outlawed. It was natural therefore that he drew himself close, at a very young age, to that sage and savant of Kerala Sri Narayana Guru, who sought to reform a caste-ridden society through the simple but telling slogan "One Caste, One Religion and One God for man". Kumaran Asan became the torch-bearer of this new movement and put himself heart and soul in the cause of fighting for the social and economic freedom and equality of all castes and creeds.

His poetic genius enabled him to pour out his heart to his fellow-men. He inspired his people to rise above their sense of helplessness and to rebel against servitude. Invoking the 'Lord of Freedom' to break and remove caste and social inequalities, he sung so meaningfully :

"Let mankind breathe truth realize equality,
And imbibing the essence of love and in contentment sublime
March along the path of real *Dharma*,
And let this world become a vertiable heaven".

He also warned in another poem :

Change you the laws yourselves
Or else, the laws will change you
Indeed, a sentiment which is so very relevant even to modern times.

Kumaran Asan was verily one of the Poetic Trinities of modern Kerala; if I may describe them so, his other two illustrious contemporaries being Vallathol Narayana Menon and Ulloor S. Parameshwara Iyer, who among them brought about a renaissance in Malayalam poetry. Love, Mysticism, Romanticism, Symbolism, and the spirit of Revolution were all in their themes. This was a period when Western philosophy and Western thought also influenced writers in our country. It has been said that in Kumaran Asan's treatment of his subjects there is a unique blend of the East and the West.

Speech while unveiling the statue of Mahakavi Kumaran Asan at the University Senate Hall, Trivandrum, April 12, 1973

These eminent men gave a new life and a new impetus to the progress of Malayalam literature, and today we have a number of writers both in prose and verse among the Malayalees who have established for themselves a reputation for high quality and abiding merit.

Kumaran Asan was a poet of outstanding creative ability. He was essentially human, and love and human nature formed instinctively his theme for a number of his well-known poems. An unshakable spirit of optimism, of hope, faith and love has been the philosophy of his life. True to his early training under his Master Sri Narayana Guru and the moulding of his own mind, he gave expression to his hopes and aspirations for emancipating the country through his poems. His was an integrated approach to human liberty and human values. Thus in *Prabhata Nakshathram*—Morning Star—we see the keynote “One country, one language, one God, one community for you”.

Kumaran Asan belongs not only to Kerala, but to the whole nation as a revolutionary and an emancipator. While this memorial will be a visible symbol of the gratitude and love of his people towards him, Kumaran Asan will continue to inspire generations to come through his own works of enduring value in whose boundless depths we can always seek pleasure and enlightenment.

Swami Abhedananda

I AM HAPPY TO be here to inaugurate the All-India Social and Educational Convention on the Philosophy of Swami Abhedananda.

Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda were the two eminent disciples of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. As a boy of 12 I had the privilege of hearing a lecture of Swami Abhedananda at Bernampore. It was indeed a treat of a very high order and it left a deep and abiding impression on my young mind. The clarity and the simplicity with which he expounded his philosophy was an unforgettable experience for me. Since then I have been following with great interest the work of Swami Abhedananda. I have always admired the selfless and devoted work of Ramakrishna Mission.

Speech while inaugurating the All India Convention on the Educational, Social and Philosophical Teachings of Srimat Swami Abhedananda, New Delhi, April 22, 1973.

It truly reflected in its day-to-day work the message of all pervading humanism of its founders—Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda.

Swami Vivekananda's speech at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in the year 1893 was an epoch-making event in the annals of the religious history of the world. It was given to Swami Abhedananda to continue the good work begun by Swami Vivekananda in spreading the message of *Vedanta* in the West. He stayed in America for 25 years and returned to India in 1921. For the next 18 years, he lived and laboured in India. His life of service and sacrifice will ever remain an inspiration for all men of religion. He had faith in the eternal truth of the *Vedas* and in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. He preached that this faith will have its highest fulfilment through work and worship. Social justice, hard work and fearless pursuit of truth and the path of duty—are the highlights of his teachings. These should provide us an unfailing guide of conduct and action for all time.

I would like to quote from a memorable speech of his at Patna. He said : "This world is a garden and each individual is just like a plant. Let him grow and bear his own fruit. Allow him to grow. That should be your ideal. Why should you hinder his growth and progress? But before he can bear the best fruit, you must give him the proper environment. Just as a plant cannot give its best fruit, unless you give it proper light and heat and the nourishment of the earth, air and water, so you make him manifest the highest ideal of his life by giving him the proper conditions. Why should you hate a *Chandala*? Why is he a *Chandala*? Because you have made him so. You can make him a *Brahmin* tomorrow if you allow him all the proper environments of a *Brahmin*. It is not the *Chandala* who should be blamed, but you, the leaders of the Society. You have made him so. Therefore, take the blame upon your shoulders and correct it and make him a saint". This brings out clearly the integrated approach of the Swamiji to religious and social problems.

I am sure this Convention on the Educational, Social and Philosophical teachings of Swami Abhedananda would focus attention on the many-sided genius of the Swamiji and stress the relevance of his teachings to our present situation. I wish your endeavours all success.

Swami Ram Tirtha

I AM HAPPY to be here and inaugurate the National Seminar organised by the Swami Ram Tirtha Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee. I have always been attracted by the life and teachings of Swami Ram Tirtha. To him all mankind was one and the political and geographical, the religious and sectarian barriers that divided man from man had no relevance for him. He was an exemplar of the concept of universal love.

Swami Ram Tirtha is in the line of our spiritual ambassadors like Swami Vivekananda. As a matter of fact the turning point in the life of Swami Ram Tirtha who had taken to the profession of teaching in the Forman Christian College, Lahore, was the meeting with Swami Vivekananda who visited Lahore in 1897 on his way back from his tour abroad. Prof. Ram Tirtha, as he was then known, was so much influenced by the eloquence of Swami Vivekananda that he offered his prize-watch as a humble gift. Swami Vivekananda smiled and said "Unity of life is the message of *Vedanta*. You and I are one. Hence onward you also preach and practise the gospel of *Vedanta*". Then onward, the Professor snapped all worldly connections and became a *Sanyasi*. He retired to the Himalayas for meditation and self-realisation. He studied religion and Vedas in depth and became an ardent student and admirer of *Vedanta*.

About the end of 19th century, India had started to throw off the shackles of foreign rule and Swamiji's travels and contacts abroad helped India in getting the support and sympathy of the world in her freedom struggle. I am always fond of quoting Swamiji, who said "Who lives if India dies; who dies if India lives?" This shows his deep and ardent love for the country and his abiding concern for humanity. He was indeed a great sage and seer, who had a vital influence in the awakening of our people. His clarion call to his countrymen "People once awakened and awakened rightly cannot be put down" reverberated throughout the land.

The fundamental lesson that Swami Ram Tirtha taught was that there were no set rules to reach the Supreme Reality and each one had to evolve one's own philosophy and approach. Self-realisation is possible only if we first understand ourselves and follow the norms and ethical values strictly in our own lives. This entails discipline of the mind and the body and for this reason Swamiji chose the path of realisation through the practice of *Yoga*. Wherever he went, large

Speech while inaugurating the birth centenary celebrations of Swami Ram Tirtha, New Delhi, October 29, 1973

numbers evinced keen interest in studying and practising *Yoga* and Indian philosophy.

On return from his tour of America, the Middle East and Japan, Swami Ram Tirtha was asked by some admirers of his at Mathura to form a new society. Swamiji's reply was characteristic of the great man. He refused point-blank to do so saying that all societies working in India were his own societies and that he would work through them. He shut his eyes in ecstasy and with tears streaming down his cheeks he said : "Christians, Hindus, Parsis, Arya Samajists, Sikhs, Mohammedans and all those muscles, bones, blood and brain made by eating the grain and salt of my beloved *Ishta Deva*, the *Bharat Bhumi*, are my brothers, nay, my very self. Tell them I am theirs. I embrace all. I exclude none. I am love. Love like light robes everything and all with splendours of light. Verily, verily, I am nothing but flood and glory of Love. I love all equally." This is the spirit with which followers of all religions should work if we have to realise the India of the dreams of our great souls. We should emulate Swami Ram Tirtha's all-embracing humanism. I firmly believe that humanism is a light that never fails.

I hope through these celebrations of Swamiji's Birth Centenary during this year, we will be able to revive the spirit of universal brotherhood which is the essence of all his teachings. Let his life and teachings guide and inspire us all towards building a strong and united India where material prosperity is combined with spiritual strength.

Vallabhbhai Patel

IT GIVES ME very great pleasure to be here and pay my homage to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who has been rightly called the Architect of India's unity. His political sagacity, robust patriotism, practical wisdom and great administrative skill made him one of world's great statesmen. His genius for organisation found full scope in the non-violent non-co-operation movement under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. When freedom was achieved, he used all his great talents in welding India into one entity. The administrative unity that he brought about is a glorious chapter in our political history.

Speech at Sardar Patel Jayanti, New Delhi, October 31, 1973

Jawaharlal Nehru acclaimed him as "the builder and consolidator of new India".

Our national movement under the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi had produced giants. Its vitality and strength found open expression through leaders of the calibre of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad and others whom the movement had thrown up. There were, no doubt, differences of approach and emphasis among these great personalities, but these very differences made them get closer in a spirit of mutual esteem and understand each other's viewpoint better and work as one team for the greater glory of the Motherland and its teeming millions.

A man of iron will, clear vision and ruthless determination, Sardar Patel has left an indelible impression of his remarkable personality on the Indian scene. The key to the Sardar's success in the different fields of public activities is to be found in his capacity to take the right decision at the right moment and to find the right persons to assist him in the accomplishment of his objectives.

He has rightly been called "The Indomitable Sardar" and the "Iron Man of India". But to those who have known him intimately these epithets reveal only a part of his personality. He was indeed a very kind and affectionate friend who could be sentimental too. Behind a formidable exterior there was a warm human person full of understanding and sympathy.

To the Sardar, nothing was dearer than the integrity and unity of India. Let us this day resolve to work with redoubled vigour for national unity and national cohesion. A strong and united India is the most enduring memorial for Sardar Patel.

Rajendra Prasad

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD stood in the vanguard of the freedom movement, widely respected by everyone for his organising ability. He was a devoted follower of Mahatma Gandhi under whose influence he came early in 1917. Rajen Babu was his able lieutenant in the Champaran *Satyagraha* which resulted in the emancipation of tenants from the tyranny of the indigo planters. This *Satyagraha* was the precursor of the great non-violent national struggles that were launched under Gandhiji's leadership.

Speech at the inauguration of the *Rajendra Jayanti* organised by the Bihar Association, New Delhi, December 3, 1973

Bihar will always gratefully remember the lead given by Rajen Babu in organising relief for the victims of the disastrous earthquake in 1934. He collected millions of rupees for the rehabilitation of the homeless and destitute. His herculean efforts were responsible for mitigating the sufferings of the people.

Under the active guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, Rajen Babu gave a lead to the various movements in Bihar designed to take the country nearer the goal of freedom and economic regeneration. At the Ramgarh Session of the Indian National Congress in 1940 Pandit Nehru said of Rajen Babu: "We often commit mistakes. Our steps falter, our tongues falter and slip. But there is a man who never makes mistakes, whose steps do not falter, whose tongue does not falter or slip and who had no occasion to withdraw what he once said or who has undone what he once did".

After Independence, he had the privilege of presiding over the Constituent Assembly in which capacity he greatly assisted the Assembly in evolving a Constitution for Free India. From the beginning of his political life, he gave his attention whole-heartedly to the cause of the under-privileged and down-trodden sections of our society. Positions sat lightly on him and even as Head of the State and the First Citizen of India, Rajendra Prasad remained true to the Gandhian values which he practised so faithfully. Of him it could truly be said that he was a *Raja Rishi*.

Rajen Babu brought dignity to the many offices which he adorned and set up noble traditions for his successors. His extreme simplicity and humility marked him out as a man of the people for whose uplift and welfare he always struggled. His life from the time he entered the national struggle down to his last day was devoted to the service of this country.

After Independence was achieved, he reminded the nation that we should realise that the demand on our enthusiasm and capacity for unselfish work in the future would be as great as, if not greater than, what it had ever been before, and we must dedicate ourselves once again to the great cause that beckoned us. When our Constitution was adopted on November 26, 1949, he observed "It was a unique victory which was achieved by the unique method taught by the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi—and it is up to us to preserve and protect the Independence that we have won and to make it really bear fruit for the man in the street". These were his hopes and aspirations.

While commemorating the Birth Anniversary of this great son of India let us resolve to create conditions in our country where every individual will be provided with the wherewithal to develop and rise to his fullest stature, where poverty and squalor, ignorance and

ill-health will be banished. If we bend our efforts to achieve this goal that will indeed be the greatest homage that we pay to our beloved Rajen Babu.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

I AM HAPPY TO be here and participate in the 79th Kidwai *Jayanti* Celebrations. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was one of the most colourful and lovable personalities thrown up by the Indian national movement. A man of robust patriotism and great organising ability Rafi Saheb was completely free from any parochial feeling and during the last three decades of British rule in India, when communal and religious feelings eroded the patriotism of many, Rafi Ahmed remained steadfast as a rock totally committed to the values of secularism and nationalism.

When the clarion call of the Father of the Nation came, Rafi Ahmed left his studies and joined the non-co-operation movement. The partnership between him and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in building the Congress organisation particularly among the peasantry in Uttar Pradesh will always be remembered. Jawaharlal, the thinker and visionary, found in Rafi, the man of action. Jawaharlal would plan and Rafi would execute the plan. Rafi Saheb completely identified himself with the masses. He really represented the common man. The only criterion he adopted in measuring any public question was whether it would contribute to the welfare of the people or not.

Rafi Saheb is easily one of the greatest administrators the country has ever produced. His able stewardship of the Communications Ministry will be remembered for the epoch-making reforms that he introduced during his tenure. The night air-mail scheme which he formulated in the teeth of opposition of technical experts succeeded because of his sturdy commonsense and organising ability. He had simple solutions for complex problems. Schemes like the own-your telephone, Sunday as weekly-holiday for postmen showed his mastery of the art of administration.

It was of course his success as Food Minister that made him justly famous as an eminent administrator. Food Ministries all over the world have been the graveyard of many a reputation. Once the Food and Agriculture Minister of Britain confessed, "If the food

prices go up the housewives waive their brooms at me, if food prices come down, the farmer is at me with his scythe". When Rafi Saheb was offered the portfolio of Food and Agriculture, his close friends and relatives were apprehensive but to him politics was not the game for the timid. He accepted the challenge boldly and by his masterly handling of a difficult problem he won the hearts of his countrymen.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was hailed as a "miracle" man. The cause of his success was that he trusted his juniors and gave them an opportunity to work. He knew how to create efficient and effective men. His handling of national affairs reveal his masterly understanding of men and affairs. Rafi Ahmed combined in a remarkable degree high moral courage, indefatigable energy and pragmatic approach to all problems. His capital asset lay not in learned discourses or prolonged study of difficult problems, but in massive commonsense and an intensely practical mind which he brought to bear on the solution of knotty issues. He had an uncanny instinct in coming to decisions which always proved to be correct. His sense of timing was superb.

If we are able to imbibe some of the great qualities of Rafi Saheb, that would be the greatest tribute that we can pay to this noble son of India. I have no doubt, his life will continue to inspire us for generations to come.

Mohan Kumaramangalam

ONE YEAR HAS elapsed since Mohan Kumaramangalam was snatched from our midst by the cruel hand of death. The air-crash which occurred last year on this day was one of the most tragic happenings in recent times. Even time will not be able to erase the gruesome memory of this shocking tragedy. Mohan had left a void which was difficult to fill. The public life of this country became much poorer without this dynamic and charming personage. I am sure his memory will abide and be an inspiration for all times to come.

He dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the creation of a new society in which there would be no exploitation of any kind, of man by man. With him, it was not a mere creed; it was an objective to

be achieved. He was too much of an independent thinker to be confined within the rigidities of any ideology. In his own way, he tried to gulf the gap between nationalism and socialism and in the last two years of his eventful life, he achieved a great measure of success in this experiment as a Minister in charge of the key portfolio of Steel and Mines in the Central Cabinet. He was a realist and a man of purposeful action. Nationalisation of the Steel and Coal-mining industries which he master-minded were two positive measures intended to put India firmly on the road to development and progress on a durable foundation.

Mohan always kept an open mind and his approach was anything but doctrinaire. He was accessible to one and all and listened to everybody with respect. But no one could shake him from his commitment to the common people and to the ideal of social revolution by democratic process. He was an eloquent speaker and his great orations in Parliament and elsewhere will always remain masterpieces of thought and expression. But more than his eloquent speech were his qualities as a man of character and integrity. I would say he was a humanist with a deep faith in the spirit of humanism. Even his worst enemies respected him because of his unimpeachable honesty and incorruptibility.

Mohan was a lawyer of outstanding ability but never for a moment would he countenance the idea that the laws should be used as an instrument for the perpetuation of power and position of the privileged groups. Throughout his life, whether as a student or as a political worker dedicated to the cause of uplifting the under-privileged, or as a lawyer pleading for upholding the workers' rights, or as a Minister of Government trying to change an entrenched and outmoded system, his one ideal and objective was service to his fellow-men where it was most needed so that India may become strong and her people prosperous. He was indeed a true patriot in every sense of the term.

Shahu Maharaj

I AM GLAD to be here today to participate in the birth centenary celebrations of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur.

Speech at the Birth Centenary Celebrations of Rajarishi Chhatra Pati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, Bombay, July 23, 1974

We remember Shahu Maharaj first and foremost as a great emancipator and a true servant of the down-trodden people. He made them realise their dignity and worth as human beings. We, in India, instinctively honour men of character, learning and renunciation. Shahu Maharaj had these qualities in an abundant measure and the grateful people showed their affection by calling him *Raja Rishi*. Plato spoke of the rule of philosopher-kings but this concept is not new to the Indian tradition. We had the noble example of King Janaka who is extolled in our epics as the embodiment of all that was noble and divine in a human being.

Shahu Maharaj succeeded to the *gaddi* of Kolhapur at the turn of the century. It was a time when the British imperialism was at the zenith of its power. Kolhapur though a small State wielded considerable influence among big princely States because of its association with the House of Shivaji. Shahu Maharaj was an astute statesman and was a shrewd judge of men and matters. The poverty and the superstitious practices of the people appalled him. He realised that education was the most potent weapon to free the people from superstition and social tyranny. He made primary education free in his State. He selected poor diligent students from backward communities and provided them with the means of higher education. A wing of his Bombay Palace was turned into a hostel for students. He instilled among these young students, his zeal for social reform. They on their part played a great role in spreading an awakening among the people. He left no field of nation-building activity untouched during the comparatively short span of his life of 48 years. He realised the importance of industrialisation. He started many industrial and power projects. He took keen interest in modernising agriculture and introduced co-operative farming. He encouraged animal husbandry and the palace dairy was organised on modern scientific lines. He was a patron of arts and sports. He was a many-sided personality who touched life at many points.

Today, India stands as one of the foremost champions of freedom, equality and human rights throughout the world. We will not have any moral right to do so if in our own country we deny to large sections of our people the right to live in dignity. Let us resolve to banish this evil of caste discrimination and untouchability from our national life. That will be the true memorial to social reformers like Shahu Maharaj who dedicated their lives for the removal of inequalities between man and man.

Miscellaneous

Grow and Preserve Trees

I AM INDEED very happy to associate myself with the celebration of *Vanamahotsava* which has a special significance this year, as we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of our political freedom. To mark this happy occasion, I can conceive of few other alternatives which can rank with commemorative tree-planting.

The concept of festival of trees is to focus people's attention on the aesthetic, physical and economical value of trees. This festival owes its origin to the vision and foresight of my esteemed friend the late Shri K M Munshi. I am glad that during the last two decades and more, the annual celebration of *Vanamahotsava* has brought about an increasing awareness among the common people of the importance of trees to the nation's health and well-being. Unless this awareness is translated into active interest, the ritual planting of trees during the *Vanamahotsava* will not be of any avail. No single official organisation or agency can succeed in this endeavour unless there is widespread people's participation in the movement. The participation is not merely in growing trees and watching others grow them but in saving trees. Everyone must become a "tree warden" by having close identification with the trees that grow in their locality.

Veneration of trees is interwoven traditionally into the fabric of our religion and culture. Our institutions of learning and places of religious worship were established in beautiful sylvan surroundings. Poets, saints and sages retired for meditation to the forests. Not without reason, therefore, the *Rig Veda* and the *Matsya Purana* have attributed to the existence of forests and trees, the health, wealth and prosperity of the Nation. The great reverence for trees is born out of realisation of an important truth. Trees represent a very essential component of human environment on which depends not only the quality of human life but human survival itself. Many a mighty nation such as Babylon and Mesopotamia have disappeared into oblivion, following large-scale destruction of trees.

Trees shelter man from the extremes of climate. They screen ugly or distracting views. They relieve tension with their pleasing shapes and fragrant blossoms and seasonal splashes of colour. Most important of all they clean, filter and cool the atmosphere as also break the driving force of wind and rain. We should, therefore, preserve and

Speech while inaugurating the *Vanamahotsava* celebrations, New Delhi, August 3, 1972

develop natural areas, protect endangered species of plants and animals and provide tree-groves in urban areas. Advanced nations have taken great care to preserve their forest wealth. In the USA one is compelled by law to leave seed stock or plant and reforest the acreage from which one took his lumber. When a citizen questioned the validity of this law, the Supreme Court rejected his plea and held that every citizen had a 'pact with the unborn'—a responsibility to future generations in the way he used his land.

The rapidly growing population in urban areas needs healthy recreation centres. Groves of trees in or around the fringe of such areas will be far more effective and soothing than artificial airconditioning. With growing population and industrialisation, the quality of environment in cities deteriorates rapidly. Slums tend to grow. All these steadily lend to air, water and noise pollution. The only answer to this is to grow more trees. I am glad to learn of the practice in Bombay city where fully-grown trees, which require removal on account of expansion of houses, roads etc. are bodily removed with the help of cranes and replanted in new areas. Many fine trees have been saved in this manner. This process of replanting may no doubt be a complicated operation. But I firmly believe it is worth all the trouble and expenditure. I hope other cities would follow the example of Bombay.

Growing more trees and saving them from ruthless destruction must become a passion with our people. If the trees survive, they will help us to survive on this space-ship, earth. I pray that this planting we are doing today grows into a beautiful grove of shady and flowering trees to remind the future generations of the deeds of great martyrs who laid down their lives in order that our country may be free.

Tribute to Freedom Fighters

THE SOLDIERS OF freedom whom we honour today, and those innumerable martyrs and others who were in the thick of the battle and who are no longer with us, were no ordinary soldiers. They were inspired by the noblest of sentiments. No personal benefits came to them from the life of turmoil they chose. They sacrificed their all

Speech while presiding over a ceremony for the presentation of *Tamra Patras* to Freedom Fighters, Delhi, August 15, 1972

without expectation of any reward. When they challenged a mighty imperialist power, they had no arms and even those revolutionaries who used bombs or guns knew very well that their small armoury was not their real strength.

The strength of India's freedom fighters was the people's will to break the chains of slavery. In the early stages of the freedom struggle upto 1920, this will was manifest only among a few, mostly educated, persons. But after that, the world saw what could only be described as a miracle. Mahatma Gandhi came on the political arena, and under his inspiring leadership millions of ordinary people, illiterate villagers, men, women and young persons became an awakened mass and asserted their inalienable right to live as a free people. It was the genius of India that found expression in his teaching. He taught us freedom from fear and freedom from hatred, and thus was laid the firm foundation not only for our national liberation but also for our development as a free and equal partner in the comity of nations.

The fearlessness that Gandhiji inculcated enabled our common people to face bullets, to undergo sufferings and even tortures cheerfully. I have been a humble soldier myself. But I am overpowered by a sense of humility in the presence of our honoured guests here. In this *Diwan-e-Aam*, where the great Mughals held their court, I, one of your comrades, offer to you the gratitude of the nation.

History of Freedom Movement

I AM VERY happy to be here today to inaugurate the exhibition of historical documents relating to Indian Freedom Struggle. These documents and many others lying in the national and state Archives deserve the attention of our scholars and younger generation as they mirror the true story of the sacrifice, courage, toil and tears of thousands of our countrymen in the long and weary years before independence was won.

A new generation has come on the scene since India became free and it is but appropriate that we should endeavour to keep alive the memory of the innumerable martyrs who won for us the freedom that we enjoy today.

Speech while inaugurating the exhibition of documents relating to freedom struggle at the National Archives Buildings, New Delhi, February 9, 1972

It is a pleasure for me to be associated on this occasion with the release of the last two volumes of Dr. Tara Chand's "History of Freedom Movement in India". This monumental work in four volumes provides an authentic and comprehensive history of India's freedom movement from 1750 to the dawn of independence in 1947. I offer my heartiest congratulations to the eminent author, Dr. Tara Chand and also the Publications Division of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare for bringing out these volumes. I am sure students and scholars of Indian history in India and abroad will always cherish this work.

Need for Responsible Press

THE INDIAN PRESS inspite of many vicissitudes has come of age. I have great appreciation for the bold and courageous stand taken by the enlightened journalists of India in upholding the causes and claims they considered to be just and righteous. This is befitting the noble role assigned to the press and in consonance with the rich tradition and conventions left behind by the doyens of the Press who even in those days, when the country was groaning under the weight of colonialism, expressed their views without any fear or favour. Notable among these great personages, I can recall the names of indomitable leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjee, Lala Lajpat Rai, Annie Besant, G. Subramania Iyer, Motilal Ghosh, Horniman, Syed Brelvi, Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, C. Y. Chintamani, Khasa Subba Rao and K. Rama Rao who were also deeply involved in the freedom struggle. They greatly inspired the people to plunge into the battle of liberation of our motherland from foreign yoke.

With the advent of independence, the functions and responsibilities of the press have increased considerably. The time has come to re-enact the pre-independence role with redoubled vigour and zeal. An ideal newspaper can exercise a sane and powerful influence on the people and can generate an enlightened public opinion and evoke responsive co-operation from the citizens in the social reforms and economic regeneration of our country. While the Press is vitally interested in asserting and preserving its freedom it has equally a great part to

Speech while inaugurating the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of *The Searchlight*, Patna, April 19, 1973

play in the shaping of the future of our country. The newspapers which have steadily grown in strength will have increasing opportunities for serving the cause of democracy in this country, and guarding the freedom of the Press and the individual.

The fight against poverty, disease and ignorance can succeed only if it becomes a mighty national endeavour with the whole-hearted participation of the people. I strongly feel it is the duty of our Press to bring about an awareness among the people and open the pathways to change. I must confess to a feeling of disappointment that our Press gives undue importance to politics and political bickerings. I would urge them to take notice of the big change that is happening on the economic and social fronts. I think a time has now come when there should be a shift of emphasis towards economic, social and scientific matters. Our newspapers devote comparatively insignificant attention to issues concerning economic development. This is rather strange and in sharp contrast to the importance of national planning for our future development. An alert and popular Press could make the transition quicker and easier by involving the people in the process of economic and social transformation.

I would also like on this occasion to urge our journalists to turn their attention more pointedly to the village than ever before. As is well-known, the key to the success of our efforts in overcoming economic difficulties lies in the augmentation of agricultural production and the strengthening of agro-industries. Newspapers can render a signal service in this behalf. By conveying, in easily comprehensible language, information in improved farm techniques and the results of scientific researches in agriculture, they can initiate the farmer in modern agricultural practices which lead to higher yields. To the village artisans, they can similarly bring the know-how of modern methods and improved techniques which would enable them to turn out better products at reduced costs.

An encouraging development in the recent years is the emergence of a strong Indian language press. English papers will no doubt continue to play an influential role in our national affairs. But for the vast masses of our people the language journals alone will constitute the main source of information. An enlightened public opinion which is the *sine qua non* for the successful functioning of democracy in the country, can, for obvious reasons, be best promoted by a healthy, powerful and independent language press. I would also like to see a systematic growth of co-operatively-owned journals in every district town. These organs could be of great value in moulding public opinion on right lines.

Our country is passing through a very crucial stage in its development. We have a system of responsible government which enables the participation of the people in the widest sense in the affairs of the country. Our Constitution guarantees certain fundamental freedoms for the citizens, and among these, one of the most valued is the freedom of the Press.

As the most widely used media for informing the people and educating them on their rights and duties, the Press plays a very vital role in shaping national life. Factual reporting and objective, unbiased presentation of news and views are the living qualities of good journalism. Fair comment and fearless exposure of the wrong-doer contribute to creating healthy public opinion. The Press in India has a mission to fulfil in helping the country to progress along constructive channels.

The Fourth Estate

I AM PARTICULARLY pleased to be here and participate in this morning's function—not merely because this is the first time awards are being given to journalists for excellence in journalism, but also because we can use it to reflect on the role the Press has been playing in the unfolding drama of India's development. The very fact that a Foundation has been set up as a result of the enterprise and enlightened outlook of one of our most distinguished journalists, and that awards are being given to editors, correspondents, cartoonists and photographers for outstanding professional performance, recognises that the Press has a strategic and meaningful role to play in our national growth and development.

India remains the second largest publisher of daily newspapers in the world. But it is sadly true that the vast majority of even our literate population still remains beyond the reach of the Press. One encouraging fact is that in terms of numbers, circulation and patterns of readership, Indian language newspapers have been rapidly surpassing the English language press. And it ought to be so. It is the language newspapers that are capturing the neo-literates and reflecting to an extent the moods and responses of the common people. Yet, in terms

Speech while presenting the First Annual Durga Ratan Awards for excellence in journalism, New Delhi, August 9, 1973

of resources and prestige, it is the relatively few English newspapers published from metropolitan centres that enjoy the commanding position in the profession as well as in society. Among the award winners of this morning, only one belongs to an Indian language newspaper. It is true that professionally the English language newspaper is by and large better produced and has financial and technological advantages. But it is our duty to promote excellence in Indian language journalism which can play a more relevant and significant role in the life of our people.

There is a strange dichotomy in the Fourth Estate in India : in a country, three-quarters of whose population live in villages, news tends to be almost entirely urban. As I read the major newspapers published from the metropolis, I miss rural India almost entirely; and what remains of India if you leave out the villages ? Even when you look at the newspapers published from the State capitals or big towns, the orientation is urban, the news and editorial focus is urban, and what goes under the heading of "district news" is very often nothing more than nibbling at the surface of non-urban life. A recent analysis tells us that our major newspapers do not devote more than five per cent of their column to development and social change reporting. If this is true, is not there something seriously wrong somewhere ?

As a nation, we are engaged in changing for the better the life of one-sixth of mankind. We are endeavouring to build a socialistic society within the framework of representative Government. If our socio-political experiment is something unique in the world—every body says it is—does it not call for an entirely new approach to news, an approach that evolves from our own realities and our own striving ? Without such an approach, our newspapers will continue to ignore the greatest story that has so far eluded their attention, the story of the changing quality of the life of one-sixth of mankind.

We have a free Press. As a nation we are wedded to the freedom of men and institutions. Therefore, we cannot conceive of a regimented Press. By freedom is meant generally in this country the freedom to criticise Government, to voice dissent, to bring out the shortcomings and failures of Governmental policies and enterprises. This freedom is valuable. Along with this freedom there must be another stream; the stream of involvement, of sympathetic understanding, of objective knowledge, of sincere and painstaking research and investigation. The established values of Western journalism do not hold good for India and the rest of the developing world : war, conflict, convulsion, and cleavage are news; peace, amity, harmony, co-operation are not news; crime, sex, violence—all the animality in mankind—make "news".

When you apply this circumscribed Western concept of news to the development process in a developing society, you are bound to miss the great story of development. Yet we are apt to miss the other recent important development in the Western Press which is devoting more and more space to the great things that are daily happening in the realm of science, technology, art, literature and music. Development is not a quietly unfolding great non-event; it is by nature a disturbing, convulsive, agonising train of change, especially for a traditional society. When we talk about social change and transformation, we seem to forget that change means realignment of social forces, the deprivation of the privileged in order to privilege the deprived—the emergence of a society of equals. We in India have been trying to work for peaceful social change. As development gathers momentum, there will be lots of problems, because we are dealing essentially not with abstract parameters of development, but with huge masses of human beings.

Our newspapers are full of reports of failures, shortcomings, hardships of the common man, polemics of political leaders. If anything happens in the field of developments, the newspapers are more anxious to bring out the minus rather than the plus factors. A strike in a public sector project makes immediate news; but the harmony with which the management and the work force in many public sector undertakings have been working invariably goes unreported. In any case, in a developing society, it is utterly inadequate to measure development merely in terms of output productivity, efficiency of management, and cost and profit factors, although these are important considerations and must not in any circumstances be ignored or minimised. The central focus of development is change, the qualitative change that development brings to the life of people, the difference it makes between what was, what is, what is going to be. It is this qualitative change, this difference, that is the biggest development news. Take a group photograph of a three generation tribal family within ten or twenty miles of Rourkela, and you will see graphically the impact of these changes. Even the clothes they wear, the transistors and the bicycles they possess are only part of the story of change; for the total story, you have to study the change that has occurred in individual and group psychology, in people's perception of realities, of their own role in society and many other factors. Has this work been done by our press? The answer, I am afraid, will be largely in the negative.

It is this rather sad situation which makes this morning's function particularly important. We are honouring a number of journalists whose work during 1972 had an impact on society. More important than the awards is the concept behind them. The concept, if I have understood it correctly, is that the press as a whole, and individual

journalists can bring about constructive change if they address themselves to the task with sincerity and courage. The implications of this concept demands serious reflection. It means, in the first place, a positive faith in the possibility of change stemming from constructive interaction of social groups including those who command political, social and economic power. It implies that our institutions are responsive to constructive criticism, even exposure, and that there are men among you who have the courage to persevere with efforts to change things for the community in which they live.

I know you will not misunderstand me if I have been critical; I wanted to share some of my thoughts with you on this occasion. By and large our press has behaved with maturity and sobriety. There are of course a few black sheep to whom freedom means licence and they indulge in character assassination and pander to fanaticism. But their impact on public opinion is so negligible that we can ignore them. We cannot, however, afford to be satisfied with small achievements of the Indian Press all the time.

Journalists have achieved great things. We want our journalists to put Indian development on the world map—it may not be a uniformly success story, but which country has a uniformly success story when it is in the process of development? If people work, they are bound to make mistakes; there are bound to be ups and downs in the process of development. But the downs must not down our spirit, but on the contrary strengthen our determination to forge forward. Let the Press come into the process with its own distinctive role. If you have to criticise, criticise well, with facts, not polemics. If you wish to expose, do it with courage. One would like the Press, for example to light up the dark corridors of corruption. But whenever Indian journalism tries to do so, it is looking vaguely for the corrupted and very seldom for the corrupter. The nobility of your profession is rooted in your commitment to uphold the truth and resist injustice. For discharging this function, the Press must be free from trammels of any kind including the control of vested interests. This is precisely the reason why I welcome the move for diffusion of ownership of newspapers. We must evolve an ownership pattern in conformity with our national purpose and social policies.

This country cannot afford to keep journalism as a preserve of the intelligentsia. That will inevitably make it stagnant, stereotyped and increasingly isolated from the main stream of people's life. "Animation"—that is helping the country to gather the impetus necessary for full developments—is the task of mass media like the Press. If today's function and the concept behind it goes some way to help the Press develop that "animation", it will have been a very successful occasion.

Steps to Improve Tourist Traffic

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be here in the historic city of Madras to inaugurate the 20th All India Hotel and Restaurant Convention. I am particularly glad about the choice of Madras as the venue of your convention, since Madras and the South of India has so much to offer by way of tourist attractions. These attractions need to be put into proper focus to attract visitors to this part from overseas as well as from the rest of India.

International tourism today is a major industry in the world—perhaps the largest single economic activity. It involves the movement of about 200 million people every year from one country to the other. In pure economic terms the volume of this business is 22 billion dollars, a phenomenon unique in the history of the world. Given peace and stability, this business will grow constantly leading to a better understanding among the people in the world. India's share in this business is very small—mainly due to the fact that our country is located at great distance from the affluent countries of the world where international travel has become a way of life. However, India has a great appeal for the discerning tourist from abroad. Our traffic has been steadily increasing and the estimated arrivals in 1973 are likely to exceed 4 hundred thousand. The average stay of a foreign visitor to India is more than 25 days—the longest per capita stay in the world for a tourist.

The principal constituents of travel industry are rich tourist attractions, good accommodation and fast and dependable means of transport. We are undoubtedly rich in tourist attractions. We have a thousand miles of snow-clad Himalayan ranges dotted with scores of mountain resorts; some of the greatest architectural creations built by the hand of man; endless sandy beaches on the coasts of India and a country endowed with great culture and history. We have inherited these rich investments from our forefathers. But we need more hotel accommodation and better transportation.

During the last six years, India has built several new hotels in major cities increasing the accommodation to 11,000 rooms in approved hotels. This accommodation will go upto 20,000 rooms as soon as the projects presently under construction are completed. The sky-line of some of our cities is changing with construction of high rising hotel buildings. This development has been possible under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Karan Singh, Minister of Tourism,

Speech while inaugurating the 12th All India Hotel and Restaurant Convention, Madras, September 21, 1973

Government of India. Apart from his success in accelerating the development of infrastructure in India, he has been able to create an awareness of tourism throughout the country by bringing into focus the economic impact of tourism on the life of the people as well as its significance as an instrument of goodwill among the people and the nations of the world. In this respect both the Government and the private enterprise in travel industry have worked with close co-operation with the result that India is well on its way to progress in the field of tourism.

Lately, there has been a greater concentration in the luxury class hotels. Since the visitors from affluent countries prefer top-class accommodation and facilities irrespective of cost, we have no choice but to provide accommodation in this category. There is, however, a possibility that by over-building accommodation in this class, we may outprice our hotels for the middle-income overseas tourists, who are travelling all over the world, today, in large numbers. The reduced air-fares for young people and groups and the introduction of air-charters has made it possible for not so affluent people to take trips to destinations like India. We have to cater to this class of people not only from a narrow economic angle, but also from the point of view of goodwill. These people tend to stay longer and visit a country again and again, if they are happy with their visit. I would, therefore, recommend to the leaders of the hotel industry to consider this new aspect of tourism development in their scheme of things. An average visitor from abroad needs a spotlessly clean room with a clean bath and it should not be difficult for us to provide that at a reasonable price. This type of accommodation is required not only for the foreign visitors but also the Indians who want to travel for a holiday. In this, I am glad to say that many of our hotels operating in the South have a high reputation for their cleanliness, typically Indian *cuisine*, and cheerful, personalised service, and could well serve as models for Hotel Groups elsewhere.

Praiseworthy Philatelic Show

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you all today on the occasion of presentation of awards to the winners in the India International Philatelic Exhibition. I went round this exhibition a few days ago and was happy to find that the exhibits were of a very high order meriting all the praise from discerning critics. It must have been indeed an onerous task for the Jury to evaluate the exhibits and select the prize-winning ones.

Apart from the earlier International Exhibition held in 1954 on the occasion of the Centenary of the Indian Postage Stamp this is the only other International Exhibition which has been hosted by India. Judging by the frames on display, and the quality of the exhibits this is by far the biggest philatelic show ever hosted by this country. I am happy to know that this exhibition evoked praise from all quarters.

There is yet another aspect about this exhibition I would like to comment upon. This is about the commemorative stamps which have been brought out on the occasion of the exhibition. These stamps have been very artistically designed and neatly printed. I would like to congratulate the persons concerned on their efforts in bringing out this set of stamps. This set will easily rank with the other set on Indian Miniature Paintings which was recently brought out by the Indian P&T Department both as regards popularity as well as neatness of execution.

Growth of Language Press

I HAVE GREAT pleasure to be here today and participate in the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the *Navbharat Times*.

The growth of the Indian language press in recent years appears to me to be a very encouraging sign. In terms of numbers, circulation and patterns of readership, Indian language newspapers have been

Speech on the occasion of the presentation of Indipex Awards, New Delhi, November 22, 1973

Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the *Navbharat Times*, New Delhi, December 2, 1972

rapidly surpassing the English press. I am very happy that it is so. It is the language newspapers that are capturing the neo-literates and reflecting to an extent the moods and responses of the common people.

This paper was born on the eve of our independence and it has grown with free India. We have undoubtedly made great progress but we are still far away from ensuring *Arthic Swaraj* for our masses. Unemployment is rampant and unless we solve the problem of poverty of our people, we cannot hold our heads high in the comity of nations. We can bring about radical transformation of our economic structure only by enthusiastic participation of the people in all the plans for development. It is the duty of our newspapers, particularly the language ones, to educate and mould people's opinion on right lines and thus open the pathways to change.

Religion-Morality-Law

I FEEL HIGHLY honoured in being invited to inaugurate the Seminar on Religion, Morality and Law in Islam organised by the Islam and the Modern Age Society and the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies.

The Islam and the Modern Age Society has done valuable work in exposing the Muslims in India to the process of modernization both in the realm of thought and action by urging them to get inspiration from the Holy Book, the *Sunna*, and the tradition for their right *Ijtihad*, the "exercise of judgment". The famous poet-philosopher, Iqbal, described *Ijtihad* as the "principle of movement" in Islam, so vital for social and intellectual growth and material progress. Through its publications the Society continues to urge the intellectuals, in general, and Muslims, in particular, to exercise their right of judgment in matters pertaining to practice and belief in an environment of freedom. Undoubtedly, this is a noble task of great relevance to an ancient country which is trying to modernise itself.

It is an interesting fact of our history that the Indian people have shown a large-hearted tolerance towards diverse cultural strains and endeavoured to develop a cultural synthesis dear to all. Islam is one of the influences which has made an abiding contribution towards the development of the composite Indian social fabric. Islam is essentially

Speech while inaugurating the International Seminar on Religion-Morality-Law in Islam, New Delhi, December 11, 1973

a religion which stands for human brotherhood, equality, and social justice. The word Islam itself means 'Peace and submission to the will of God' which implies an unqualified commitment to carry out His will in the course of daily life. Islam, like all great religions, visualises man as the best and the noblest of creatures whose sole purpose in life is to carry out the will of God, through the service of man.

The concept of religion in Islam emanates from this commitment and by definition pervades all spheres of human activity. It is not a set of ritualistic practices and theological beliefs divorced from the daily course of life. This supreme and all-pervasive place of religion as visualized by Islam goes a long way in linking together the codes of morality with those of law. Social ethics, social institutions and law are, in principle, functions of the religious system in Islam.

The formulation of the legal system in a society is largely dependent on the level of its social and material progress, and its perception of the prevailing reality regarding morality and social justice. "The Science of Law", in the words of one of the famous Muslim definitions, "is the Knowledge of the rights and duties whereby man is enabled to observe right conduct in this life, and to prepare himself for the world to come." Evidently Islamic law takes into its purview relationships of all kinds both toward God and toward man thus encompassing domestic, civil, economic, or political institutions. Naturally, as the modernist intellectuals, both Muslim and non-Muslim emphasize, such a concept of Law should leave scope for the exercise of judgment by every generation in matters of daily routine pertaining to the domestic and civil institutions which transform themselves with the passage of time.

Modern intellectuals, as indeed all others interested, have to study Islamic Law with diligence and circumspection for suitably reinterpreting the law as enjoined by the concept of '*Ijtihad*' to suit the needs of the rapidly changing society. In doing so, the wishes of the community should be fully taken into account since in the final analysis any law is for the community and not the other way about. This arduous and historic task of keeping pace with the dynamic changes taking place in the contemporary era and securing the willing co-operation of the people to accept and participate in such change has to be accomplished primarily by the intelligentsia.

The Indian Constitution envisages a society based on the principles of equality, justice and brotherhood—principles so dearly cherished by Islam. These high ideals cannot be achieved unless all sections of our people contribute towards this goal. Our secularism is not a negative concept but a positive one of respect for all faiths. It is

based essentially on a spirit of humanism, which I consider to be the essence of all religions.

It is worth recalling here that the unity of religions, not only at the conceptual level, but also in practice has always been one of the main driving forces in Indian history. Today, in contemporary India, we must become more conscious of such a proud historical legacy so as to fulfil our great task of nation-building. But the very urgency of such a task sanctions an evolution of social bases of the unity of religions and their co-operative co-existence. Such social bases can only be evolved within the modernistic framework of our political system, social progress and economic development. It is indeed gratifying to note that your Society appears to be mindful of this prerequisite sanction.

I would like to make an appeal on this occasion to our Muslim brethren to participate freely and unreservedly in the main stream of national life. All of us are Indians, and in emphasising this basic concept in our national life, there is no room for distinction between Hindus, Muslims, Christians or any other religious group. The total obliteration of caste and communal divisions alone would bring our millions into an equal and enthusiastic partnership for social and economic progress. The positive force of healthy nationalism can transcend the divisive pull of casteism, communalism and parochialism and transform them into creative energies. With my illustrious predecessor of revered memory, Dr. Zakir Husain, who was a true servant of India and Islam, I too share the belief "that Providence has destined India to be the laboratory in which the greatest experiment of cultural synthesis will be undertaken and successfully completed." I call upon all Indians and especially my Muslim brethren to participate zealously in this enchanting enterprise.

The Silver Screen

I AM DELIGHTED to be in your midst at this colourful function, which also represents the consummation of two decades of effort on the part of Government to contribute its share towards the regeneration of the Indian Cinema. It was twenty years ago when the scheme for National Awards for Films was launched. The scheme has

Speech while presiding over the function to present National Awards for Films, New Delhi, December 17, 1973

developed new facets from time to time, and I am glad to learn that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting proposes to bring within its fold various other important specialities of film-craft. We can, therefore, look forward to this important activity, developing further, in the interest of the Indian film industry, and the Indian cine-goers. Let me offer my congratulations to all those who have been honoured today.

The National Awards Scheme has provided a stimulus for the emergence and consolidation of the regional cinema in which we are witnessing for the last decade the resurgence of the true creative spirit of India. In spite of serious economic difficulties faced by regional cinema largely because of limitation of the exhibition circuit, the most noticeable advances in modern cinema are being made in the regional films. The impact of the scheme has been beneficial but limited as the resources that go into it are small. Government is aware that unless a massive financial intervention is made in re-invigorating the financial basis of the industry and promoting the expansion of the theatrical circuit, the film scene would not change very much. Steps are going to be taken by the Central Government in this direction so that a fund of significant size is available for lending continuing support to the major promotional programmes of the Government including the scheme for National Awards.

Promotion of cinema should, I believe, become a joint venture of special urgency in which the State Government should boldly participate. I feel somewhat unhappy that our growth rate of cinemas is the tardiest in the world and even though cinema as a profession and industry makes a good contribution to the exchequer, the material inputs in its development by State governments is rather meagre. With a new galaxy of talent, we stand at the threshold of a significant phase of revival and every effort must be made to accelerate the pace.

It is true that the regional cinema has come into its own in artistic terms, but it needs further support. I would like a major programme of inter-regional co-operation and development undertaken aimed at securing country-wide dissemination of the best in the regions. India is a country of continental dimensions held together by a remarkable cultural unity. Cinema can further enrich it and strengthen it.

It is in the context that the role of the national film is also crucial. Because of the commercial compulsions, the film aiming at securing the widest mass appreciation has adopted a style which is more susceptible to mercenary pressures. All the same the Hindi film has proved to be a major synthesising force in the country and has helped evolve a common-spoken idiom and light music of considerable mass

appeal. It would be a great pity if, this great force were to get dissipated or stultified.

Of late, there has been a surfeit of crime and violence as well as explicit sex bordering on the gross. The National Awards Committee itself noted with a sense of dismay the projection in some films of an amoral philosophy which seems to justify evil as a necessary concomitant of modern life. This cynicism can only erode the foundations of our national ethos. Some people say that these movies only portray what has become a part of our life. Firstly, it is my belief that this is not true of India. In our country there are innumerable heart-warming instances of human dignity amidst poverty; of self-sacrificing generosity and compassion even in the midst of selfishness; of ennobling passion and idealism. A film which unwittingly debases the human mind by leaning heavily on the sensational and the sensual cannot but engender an attitude of nihilism which is the negation of our national culture and spiritual tradition. Portray reality by all means; face the social problems certainly; but do not forget that the fundamental principle underlying Indian aesthetics is humanism.

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